

A N
INSTITUTION
O F
General History,
O R T H E
HISTORY
O F T H E
Ecclesiastical Affairs
O F T H E
WORLD.
Contemporary with
The Second Part.

CONTAINING
That of the *Roman* Empire, its first countenancing
and receiving Christian Religion.

FROM
The Conversion of *Constantine the Great*, to the Fall of *Augustulus*,
and the Ruine of the Empire in the West.

WITH
An Account of the Polity of the Church, and the
several Laws and Canons of Moment made, du-
ring the Reign of the Emperours both in East
and West to this period.

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dalen* College in *Cambridge*.

L O N D O N,
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TO THE
HIGH and MIGHTY
PRINCE,
JAMES the II.

King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland,

Defender of the Faith, &c.

GREAT SIR,

AMONG the Crowds of Loyal Counties and Corporations that Address themselves unto Your MAJESTY, vouchsafe to permit a Desolate Widow to approach into Your Sacred Presence, to congratulate Your Happy and most Just Possession of the Throne of these Kingdoms, by laying a small Present at Your Royal Feet

Which is due to Your MAJESTY by a double Title: both by Right of Succession to our Late Gracious Sovereign, by whose Royal Bounty this Work was encouraged, and also by the Designment of the Author, who intended, had not his Death prevented it, to have Dedicated this Book to His Royal Highness JAMES the Duke of York, which I now most Humbly offer to the Sacred Majesty of King JAMES the Second.

Whom I beseech the King of Kings long to Preserve Beloved of all His Subjects, Dreaded by all His Enemies, and Renowned to all Posterity in the History of future Ages.

So Prayeth with due Reverence,

Your Majesties

Most Loyal Subject

Mary Howel.

PREFACE.

THE Author having all along in his first part, intermixed the Ecclesiastical Affairs with the Secular, thought it would be most useful now, to represent them by themselves, separately, in a distinct Volume, which is here presented to the Reader ; wherein he hath brought down his account of them, to the Fall of Augustulus and the ruine of the Empire in the West (where the Second part ends) setting forth how the Great Emperour Constantine was converted to the Faith, and what means and methods he took to propagate the Christian Religion, and destroy by degrees the long practised Idolatry of the Pagan World. With an account of the Church Polity ; what was its Government, who were its Governours, their several Offices, Degrees, and Orders. The Affairs of the Church follow from the first General Council of Nice against the Arians, to the Apostacy of Julian ; thence to the Second General Council, summoned by Theodosius the First at Constantinople, against the Heresie of Macedonius : thence to the Third, call'd by Theodosius the Second to meet at Ephesus ; against the Heresie of Nestorius ; and thence to the Fourth, called by Martianus to Chalcedon, against the Heresie of Eutyches and Dioscorus ; and so down to the deposing of Augustulus, and the Fall of the Empire in the West, with the division of the Church into the East and West. The Decrees and Canons of each Council are set down, both for the settling good Order and Government, and for suppressing those Schisms and Heresies which the Devil raised by his aspiring Agents, that by sowing such Tares he might spoyl Christs Husbandry.

PREFACE.

In particular, that supreme Authority usurped by the Roman Bishop is represented, how, and by what means it was first pretended to, but ever rejected by the whole Catholick Church: Which gives to each Metropolitan the sole jurisdiction over his own Flock, not any General Commission to any one whatsoever, for the supervising of all, their Authority being equal, and their Power the same:

Thus far he proceeded, and left it finished under his own hand, as we testify, who have seen the Original.

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THE

THE Church History, OR THE ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS Contemporary with the Constantinopolitan Roman EMPIRE.

CHAP. I.

The History of the Reformation of Religion by Constantine.

1. **S**ufferings had hitherto been the Character of the Church, and the Professors of Christianity, the more Active and Vigorous they appear'd, the more exquisite Torments they were sure to undergo; the Kings and Potentates of the Earth instead of being her Nursing-Fathers, had all along made use of their utmost Power and policy not only to Curb and Check her growing Greatness, but utterly to extirpate her from off the face of the Earth; so that what Advances she yet made were in despite of the Malice of her Persecutors, and the Fruits she brought forth were the blessed product of the Blood of her Martyrs. But now in compassion to her Afflictions, and in pity to the Pangs and Strugglings she labour'd under, God raises up *Constantine*, not only to be a Protector, but himself a Professor of Christianity, that so his Church might have some respite, and enjoy at least a breathing-while in the midst of these her Terrours and Agonies.

2. The Name of Christ had mightily prevail'd, and the Church of God was upheld by a most powerful Support before ever she leaned on the *Roman Scepter*, the Wings upon which she was Born, and under which she was Cherished and Defended, were stronger and more large then those of the *Roman Eagle*, which hitherto had improved the Vigour of its Eyes, strength of its Beak, and sharpness of its Talents in vain, against this Bird of Paradise. Neither was it out of need of Reputation, that the *Roman Faces* now was to be veiled to the Cross, the Churches Majesty and Glory never more appearing, than when she was most clouded by Sufferings and Worldly Prejudice; as the deepest and blackest Clouds are most capable of receiving the reflection of the Suns Beauties, and a thick Air the best Medium to discover the Brightness of Heavenly Bodies. These stupendous Miracles that stopped and diverted the course of Nature, her self, both in the bigger and lesser World; in that by the production of Wonders to the outward Senses, in this by working Effects perceivable both by the outward and inward Sight, to such as were not blinded by ignorance, prejudice or affectation, demon-

The Church and State united.

monstrated such incomparable Beauty, as would dazzle all the Glories of the World though contracted into one Sun. Miracles wrought upon material Subjects, and such as neither the Art of *Pagans*, nor Skill of the False Gods (who were also obnoxious to the same Commands) could work, carried with them sufficient Evidence; but those that appeared in Mens minds, transformed quite from their ordinary Condition, by such Virtues as were but Antiently Pictured on the greatest Philosophers, carried along with them absolute demonstrations to unprejudiced Judgments, and left others without excuse. But contempt of the *φθιστον φθιστοτατον* made much more sure by the Circumstances attending it; Triumph I lay over Death, manifested not only the Reality but Glory of the Truth, which struck the World with admiration and conviction, for that the only Prodigy now, that Man seemed, who could be so stupid as not to believe. Greater were the Conquests the Church made by her Spiritual Weapons, viz. Prayers and Tears, than by the accession of Secular Arms, and stronger her Natural Power (that is also Spiritual) Reputation, than that the obtained by the addition of a Temporal Crown.

3. Yet was she to try all Conditions, and be now refreshed after so great Conflicts as she had sustained. Gods Power is also seen in calling those that have the greatest Temptations, and in giving sight to such whose Eyes are put out by too near Approximation to Worldly, but dazzling Objects: Neither were such Functions as he Established by his own Institution to be disowned by a want of real and the best Acknowledgments, nor such as were Gods in this Life by his appointment, to be the only Persons that were to Devils in that to come. Therefore after 312. Years or more (during which space we have no assurance that any Roman Prince unfeignedly became a Christian) *Constantine* the Emperour the Son of *Constantius* and *Helena* a British Woman Converted to the Faith by a Vision of a Cross seen in the Air, wherein was this Greek Inscription, *ἐν τούτῳ νικᾷ*, or, *In this Overcome*, as he Marched against *Maxentius* the great Persecutor of Christians. This all Christian Writers affirm, and as (a) *Eusebius* tells us, *Constantine* himself by Oath affirmed; neither need we at all to question the Truth of it; For that God made use of Miracles upon extraordinary Occasions, we must not doubt, and such we must confess this to have been, if the extraordinary Condition of the Person, and the vast Consequences be duly considered. That Miracles as at this time were not ceased utterly, we may believe from that reason which was ever the final Cause of them, and from the Testimony of several Writers, who discourse of the first Plantation of Religion amongst Barbarous Nations long after this Season, whom it is little less than arrogance to Condemn of Fallhood, although perhaps too Credulous in some Particulars) because as extraordinary means seem necessary for the Conversion of Later, as were used for the Conviction of former Disciples. This Conversion of *Constantine* was in the Seventh of his Reign, the Fourth Year of the 272. Olympiad, of Rome the 1065. A. D. 312. He himself the Second time, and *Licinius* his Colleague also the second time being Consul.

4. Being fully instructed in that way into which he had been so Miraculously led, he resolved to proceed in despite of all opposition, he found the Church in such a Case as required an Healing, helping and delivering, not an adorning hand, her Wounds were deep and her Enemies strong, and many who lately had got such success, as they esteemed it, that puffed up in their Imaginations they determined to think of opposition for the future, although the Blood of the Martyrs, contrary both to their expectation and desire, still proved the Seed of the Church. Knowing therefore, like a Skillful Physician, the true Method of her Cure, he first applied such a Medicine, as both should heal her Wounds, and what was more, make her Sword Proof for the time to come; Publishing an Edict both in his own Name and that of *Licinius*, (after the Victory obtained against *Maxentius*) whereby it is declared, that (a) *Liberty* henceforth be denied to none, of *Confessing* or *Following* the *Christian Service* and *Religion*; but that *Liberty* be granted to every one, to addit his mind to that Religion, which he thinketh fit for him. A flow but sure pace in things of such Consequence and difficulty is the best, all sudden and Violent Mutations are as to the Body Natural, so also to the Civil and Spiritual very dangerous, one very Pletherick and weak is gently to be Purged, left together with some Humours, Life it self is forced out; neither is a quite contrary Dyet allowed all on a sudden, but that genuine laying of *Aesculapius Felicina lenre*, *Constantine* had learnt from one of his Predecessors; and *fat cito, si fat bene*, he knew agreeable to Christian Politicks. It is true that Idolatry is not to be per-

permitted a Moment, and the first Minute is the fittest to abolish it: But a possibility must then be allowed. Idolatry had taken too deep Root to be Eradicated in an instant, nay, many Years were required to do it as we shall see in due time and order, Long Precipitation and present Possession are great obstacles to discipline, especially when backed with Dignity and Power. And such was the Tenure Idolatry held by at this time, Fool-hardiness and fury are the greatest Enemies to Religion; a thing of the greatest Sobriety and profound Prudence in the World.

5. *Constantine* having thus secured the being, as much as in him lay, provided for the well-being (a) of Christians, not only by his private Contributions; but by an (b) Edict in his Name and that of *Licinius*, directed to *Anulinius* Proconsul of *Asiatick*, whereby it is decreed that Possessions or any Goods belonging to the Church in former Times, should be restored, (c) and Freeing the Bishops and Clergy-men from publick Burthens, such (d) as were Banished into Islands, or elsewhere, or (e) Condemned to the Mines, were restored to their Natural Freedom; Honours (f) both Military and Civil, were restored to such as had lost them upon this account. The (g) Estates of Martyrs, Professors of Religion, or such as forsook their Country for the sake of it, were appointed to the next a Kin; and those that had not Kindred, the Church became Heirs; provided that whatsoever they gave in their Life-time should stand good. Those (h) that possessed their Lands, Orchards and Houses, were Compelled to restore them back; but not to make any satisfaction for the Rents or Fruits which they had received. (i) All Church Lands or Goods in possession of the Imperial Crown, he restored. (k) All (l) desired all Men to be Christians, but compelled none, striving by the greatness of his Example to draw them to the Truth; for his Palace (m) resembled a Church, where Godly People assembled together; and he refused to celebrate the Secular Games which fell in his Third Consulship, to the great grief of the *Pagans*, who accounted them Instituted by their Gods, and presented by the Sybilline Oracles for remedies against Famine Plague and Vvar, they accounted therefore this Omission of them as an Ominous sign of the Ruin of the Empire; and *Zozimus* most bravely avoweth it such, having no other Design as he himself witnesseth of Writing his History, then to show for sooth that the Ruin of the Empire came by the means of Christians.

6. The Original and cause of all Mischiefs, he maketh the Omission of this Solemnity by *Constantine*, whom like an Heathen and prejudiced Person, he loadeth with all sorts of Calumnies out of Malice; whereas it's clear by Testimony of all Writers, that the Ages wherein these Secular Games were Celebrated; neither wanted Plague, Famine nor War, but conflicted with all sorts of Miseries; and in the contrary, this present was vow'd of them being very Fortunate both to the City and the World; so many Tyrants and Barbarous Enemies being Suppressed; but when through the impertinuity of the *Gentiles* these Games were restored by permission of *Honorius* the Christian Emperour, the former Evils returned as we shall see in due place. But the *Pagans* grievously Troubled and Afflicted with this prosperity of Christianity, which they saw could not be Extirpated by such and so many Persecutions, to divert their Grief, invented certain Greek Verses, as given out to one that consulted an Oracle wherein they declared *Christ* innocent of this Error of Sacrilege as they called it, but accused *St. Peter* as Author of that wickedness that he might be worshipped in Christs Name, for the space of 365. Years, after which time this Worship was to have an end without delay.

7. *Constantine* continuing his Reformation as the Times and import of the matter would bear, in the Tenth Year of his Reign, and the Third of his Conversion, he published an Edict whereby he prohibited, that any Christian Maid-Servants should be delivered into the hands of Bawds, which (a) is yet extant. He made also another mentioned by (b) *St. Hierome* and *Socomenus*, though not extant in the (c) Code, whereby he put down the filthy Stews in the Fornices where amongst Whores, Boys also hood and were publicly expost as Merchandise for Lust: As also another mentioned by (d) *Lampadius*, hath perished which forbade Eunuchs (the plague of Princes of those times) to bear any Offices of Majesty, he also thought a thing suitable to Christian moderation (that we may mention a thing not altogether so proper to this Subject) to mitigate the Severity of punishment formerly due to Malefactors, Repeating by an Edict of this same Year, that (e) Law and Custom whereby such as were condemned to the Gladiator's School, and the Mines were to be branded in the Face, ordering the Cause of their Condemnation should

Orders the Church Lands to be restored, and is further kind to the Church.

Omits the Celebration of the Secular Games.

Prohibits Christians to be sold for prostitution.

Constantine Converted to the Faith.

(a) In vita Constantini, cap. 22.

(c) Eusebius Hist. Lib. 10. cap. 5.

By an Edict gives Liberty of Conscience.

(a) c. 15. de imm. Lib. 1.

(b) c. 15. de imm. Lib. 1.

(c) Lib. 1. cap. 8.

(d) in. Alex. cap. 8.

(e) L. 2. de del. de punit.

should be marked either in their Hands or Legs, least as he faith the Face which is formed according to Celestial Beauty, should be disfigured, which Custom by him thus brought in, is still observed amongst us, except in cases of some Heinous offence deserving a public Character of Infamy; although the (f) *Thracians* accounted it (such is the diversity of thoughts and manners) a note of Nobility to have their Hands Marked (whence came the Proverb *Thracie nota*) as also the *Sarmatians* and *Dacians*, according to (g) *Pliny*, and the *Tentans* as (b) *Tertullian* writeth. The *Syrians* (i) were wont also to be Stigmatized in their Hands or Necks.

Refrains
the Insolence
of the Jew.

8. This Year also (that we may return to our proper Subject) *Constantine* by an (a) Edict, refrained the Sawy impudence of the Jew, who were wont when any of their Sect turned Christian to throw Stones at him and abuse him, with other sorts of Violence. Such as should do the like for the time to come, he commands to be Burnt with all their Abettors; and subjects all Christians to the same punishment that shall turn to their Religion. About this time it appeareth from *Chrysostom*, that the Jew Rebelled though in what Year is not exprest, for which crime *Constantine* Caused their Ears to be cut off, and led up and down in all places, as Fugitive Slaves that their Brethren might be advised how to carry themselves towards Christians; but afterward they were quiet, and living in Dutiful Obedience, had the same favour as other Subjects, which his Rescripts made in their behalf sufficiently declare.

9. Such was the Progress *Constantine* made in the Reformation of Religion, whilst as yet he Governed the Empire in Conjunction with *Licinius*, which at first seeming to joynt with him, afterwards turned Persecutor in those Dominions that were subject to him. He being overthrown, taken Prisoner, and put to Death, he proceeded with greater Vigour, having by several Edicts recalled Christianity, Banished as it were out of those Parts; Established the Church almost utterly Overturned and Desolate, restored such as had either been forced or Fleed for safety from their own Country, Released them that were Condemned either to Prison or the Mines, restored such to Liberty as had been made Slaves upon the account of Conscience; restored all to their Estates and Dignities, and provided for the Heirs of Martyrs that they should Succeed them according to Law and Conscience; and if they had no Kindred, then their Estates should fall to the Church, provided that whatsoever they gave in their Life-time should stand Firm. All those things were included in an Edict, which presently he put in Execution, disannulling whatsoever the Tyrants had done, so that restitution was made to the right Owners according to Law and the Tenour of the said Edict.

He prefers
Christians to
places of Ho-
nour and pro-
hibits Idola-
try.

10. Now the Bishops were restored to their Sees, and Idolatry was more opposed then ever. *Constantine* (a) proceeding to other matters of great Moment, conferring many Dignities on Christians, and making them Governours of divers Provinces, but such as were devoted to Heathenism he prohibited to sacrifice to Idols: For he made a new Law, that if they were Christians all Governours of Provinces should behave themselves as became that glorious Title; but if they were otherwise affected, he commanded that they should not Sacrifice to Idols. Not long after he published an Edict (b) against *Aruspices* or South-sayers, who privately in other Mens Houses followed their Trade: And made about the same time he freed (c) all Clergy-men from Offices, except such who for to thine all civil Employments, had upon design betaken themselves to that Function. But when many abused this Privilege and Immunity granted to the Clergy, the Emperour (d) commanded afterward that such only should Succeed them that Dyed as were poor and not liable to publick Employments.

He makes
an Edict con-
cerning the ob-
servation of
the Lord's day.

11. The Year following being the 16 of his Reign, the 13 of his Conversion, *Claudius Caesar* the second time and *Constantinus Caesar* also the second time being Consuls, he published an Edict for the observation of the Lords Day (a) forbidding all Artificers to work in Cities, but permitting the Exercise of Agriculture (b) as also Manumissions and Mancipations to be made on that day.

Eusebius in the History (c) of his Life (a Treatise written in an Encomiastick way without Method or order) tells us how he ordained that the Lords Day should be Consecrated unto Prayer, being the chief and first Day of the Week, chose Grave Religious Men to be Deacons and Chaplains in his Court, and had a strong Guard about his Person, who as they were faithful to their Prince, & by his example learnt to be Religious towards God, and to observe the Lords Day, by devoting it to Prayer. And this Gracious Prince, faith he persuaded others to this pious Duty; still praying that by degrees he might bring all Men to the know-

(f) *Calvus*.
Rhetoric. Antiq.
lib. 1. 7 cap.
(g) *Lik. 22.*
cap. 1.
(b) *de virg.*
cap. 1.
(i) *Lactantius*
in nova Syria.

(a) c. 78.
1. de Jude.

Confess. 26.
lib. 22. v. 110.
Constantine
cap. 19. 95.
ad. 42.

(a) *idem*.
bid. cap. 41.

(b) 1. 6.
2. 28. de
2. 28. de
1. 2. 78. 1.
2. 28. de
1. 2. 78. 1.
16. tit. 2. 5. 1.

(a) c. 78. 1. 3.
1. 2. 78. 1.
(b) c. 78. 1. 3.
2. 28. de
1. 2. 78. 1.
(c) *Lik. 4.*
cap. 10. 19.
cap. 10.

ledge of God: Wherefore he Commanded that throughout the Roman Empire, they should forbear to Labour on the Lords Day, and that they should have a respect to the days immediately preceding the Sabbath, in regard of our Saviours memorable Actions performed on those days; here is the Sixt *Feria* or that we call *Friday*, especially meant as *Saxomennus* (d) telleth, is because on that day Christ was Crucified. But whereas *Constantine* in his Edict calls it not the Lords Day after the Ecclesiastical manner, but *Dies Solis* or Sunday, thence some (e) collect that this Law was imposed as well upon *Gentiles* as others.

12. (a) *Eusebius* indeed tells us that he instructed his whole Army to reverence A. D. 321. and observe this Holy and Happy day, which was called Sunday, giving Liberty to those by a Divine instinct, who had embraced the Faith; that they might freely frequent the Church of God; and there without any Molestation offer up their Prayers unto him. But others that had not yet tasted the sweetness of Divine Knowledge, he commanded that on the Lords day they should go into the Fields, belonging to the Suburbs of the City wherethey should meet, and joynt together in Prayer to God: For he said that they ought not only to use their Spears, or put their confidence in Weapons or strength of Body, but to acknowledge God to be the giver, and as of all other things, so of Victory; to whom with Hearts and Hands lifted up to Heaven, we ought to render due Praise and Prayer, to beseech him who is the giver of Victories, to Keep, Protect and Defend us. He preferred also to his Souldiers a certain Form of Prayer in Latin, which he commanded them to use after this manner. (b) We acknowledge thee the only God, we confess thee to be our King; we invoke thee as our helper; by thee we have obtained Victories, by thee we have overcome our Enemies, from thee we enjoy our present Happyness, And hope we shall obtain one that is to come, we all become thy Supplicants, beseeching thee to preserve long our Emperour *Constantine* safe and Victorious, with his hopeful Progeny. This Form of Prayer he commanded his Souldiers to use on Sundays, and in their daily Devotions; (c) causing also the Sign of the Cross to be Ingraven upon their Armour, and to be carried before the Army, which it was to follow, and not any Golden Standard as formerly. And he not only sent this Edict for observation of the Lords Day to all Governours of Provinces, but also for (d) keeping such Holydays as were Consecrated to the Memory of the Martyrs; and for the solemn observation of the Feasts of the Church, all which was performed according to the Emperours Commands.

Prescribes
prayer to be
used by his
Souldiers.

Enacts a
Law against
Witches &c.
and is further
kind to the
Church.

By another
he commands
the *Aruspices*
to be consult-
ed.

13. This Year he also published a (a) Constitution against Witches, Enchanters, and such as by Invocation of Devils, raised Tempests or disturbed the Brains of Men. By (b) another he gave Liberty to any one to leave by his Will to the Church whatsoever he pleased, whereby the Riches of the Clergy so vastly increased with time to the great detriment of the Civil State, that Succeeding Princes, were forced to make Laws of Mortmain, for restraining of such Liberality as we shall see hereafter, by an Edict (c) also he pressed the Re-edifying of Churches. But he seemeth in the latter end of this Year, to have pulled down some of the Buildings he had raised, by another Constitution (d) or Recript to *Maximus* Praefect of the City, whereby then residing at *Sardica*, he commanded the *Aruspices* or South-sayers to be Consulted about some Prodiges that had lately happened, and permitted this to be done publicly by all others, a Fact unworthy of a Christian Emperour, especially so Zealous as he seemed to be, for it's one thing to Connote at a fault, which there is not sufficient power and opportunity to punish, and another to restore an unlawful Custom formerly prohibited, and to Establish Iniquity by a Law. Hence *Zozimus* might be so bold as to assert that *Constantine* till this time although against his will, to please the Senate followed the Pagan Superstition.

14. That this his Assertion is false, the former Laws sufficiently declare, and not only our own Historians. Yet hence take occasion to observe that *Constantine* by reason of difficulty and importance of the thing, was Constrained to Act with great care and Circumspection, both towards the Senate as yet Pagan for the most part, and the People, and so to have observed his own Religion as in so ticklish a time, not to undo all by once doing, but insinuating things by degrees, as the publick Affairs and Exigence of times would Comport, to have constrained none to his own (though best) way, and proceeded but slowly and warily in overthrowing Idolatry, as we shall farther see hereafter, however some Writers out of their own Zeal magnifie what they themselves desired, measuring his Commendation by the Standard of their own inclinations, whilst they looked more at what should, then what could be, and being better Church-men and

(d) *Lik. 1.*
cap. 8.

(e) *Baroni-*
us ad
A. D. 321.

(a) *Lik. 4.*
cap. 19.

(b) *idem*.
bid. cap. 20.

(c) *idem*.
ibid. cap. 21.

(d) *idem*.
ibid. cap. 22.

(a) 1. 4. 1. 4.
1. 2. 78. 1.
2. 28. de
1. 2. 78. 1.
1. 2. 78. 1.

(b) c. 78. 1.
1. 2. 78. 1.
1. 2. 78. 1.

(c) c. 78. 1.
1. 2. 78. 1.
1. 2. 78. 1.

(d) c. 78. 1.
1. 2. 78. 1.
1. 2. 78. 1.

Politicians (even in a Christian Sense) by their Panegyric Flourishes, extoll that for zeal, which had it been practiced might through the unseasonable application, proved the overthrow of that they most desired should be established.

15. By their precipitancy and imprudence (as in such Cases Princes never want those about them of such Temper, and would beat their Journeys end ere they can well get to) might the Emperor be brought to do what he might be tempted afterwards to recall, and thereby both Sin in Establishing that by a Law, which it might have been no Sin to permit with sorrow, when he could not hinder it. As also discourage Professors, and cast a great blemish upon Religion; or else not only venture the overthrow of Religion, and reducing it to its former afflicted Condition, but endanger his Crown and Dignity by Seditions. For the occasion of this Rescript, appeareth to have been a great suspicion the Pagans had, that by degrees he would Eradicate their Superstition; because about a Year ago he had the second time written against *Aruspices*, which exercised their Art in private Houses. Leaving them to be accordingly Alarmed, hereby it is probable that by an Insurrection or some dangerous attempt, he recalled what he had formerly done, and established the thing he prohibited. For as (*) one observeth, seeing that in this Rescript he declareth that all have Liberty to follow that way of Divination, so they abstain from private Superstition and Domestick Sacrifices; he plainly signifieth that by some other Edict he had prohibited the publick Exercise of *Aruspices*, which it seems had wonderfully incensed the Pagans and excited them to Seditious Attempts, the *Aruspices* being of vast Esteem and Authority at Rome, as it is evident from the Law of the 12 Tables which (*) *Cicero* reciteth and explaineth. But some pretend to observe that after this ungodly Edict, whereas *Constantine* formerly had all things according to his hearts desire, so that none ever were more happy and prosperous in Government, now began to feel Gods indignation, such a Domestick Feud arising (as *David* formerly had been punished) that he polluted his hands with the Blood of his dearest Relations, and was in danger of utter Ruin, had he not expiated the Offence committed against Christian Religion, by a certain Remedy.

16. For, whereas by the forementioned Rescript, he had ordered the *Soothsayers* to be Consulted, the *Gentiles* taking heart hereat, were so puffed up that hoping the Emperor had returned to their Superstition, they endeavoured to force the Christians to a partaking of their Mysteries: Whereupon *Constantine* published this Constitution following.

The Emperour Constantine Augustus to *Helpidius*.

Whereas we have found that certain Ecclesiasticks, and the rest that obey the Catholic Party, are compelled to the Sacrifices of the *Lustra*, by Men of several Religions; We Ordain by this Constitution, that if any one go about to Compell those who are Subjects to the most Holy Law, to any Rite of a strange Superstition, or if his State and Condition bear it, he shall be beaten with Rods publicly; but if the Condition of his Degree or Honour do withstand this as an Injury, let him be Fined to publick use, as much as possibly he may. Given at *Sirmium*, on the 8. of the Calends of June, *Severus* and *Rufinus* being Consuls, that is, A. D. 323.

17. From this Constitution we shall first observe, that the *Gentiles* had their Sacrifices and Heathenish Rites, either Entire or for the most part preserved as such to this time, and that publicly Celebrated, especially in Rome and Italy; as such by which most Tenacious of *Pagan* Superstition throughout the West, as appeareth also by other (A) Constitutions of *Constantine*. For *Helpidius* to whom the Constitution is directed, for the prevention and punishment of the Injury, was then Vicar of the City or Italy, being two Years before called the (B) Vicegerent of the *Præfectus Prætorio*, and in (C) another directed to him, mention is made of the Port of the City of Rome, and (C) another Law which hath the same Infcription, is propounded to the *Carali* a City of *Sardinia*. But by those Sacrifices of the *Lustra* (*Lustrorum Sacrificia*) are not to be meant the Lustrations of private and common Solemnities, properly so called and Celebrated on certain days proper thereto, neither such as Fathers of Families made in their Corn Fields, that these Calamities, *Mors lates nubula imperio pestifera* (or Pestilence) which were most proper Terms as (D) *Festus* witnesseth to these sorts of Solemnities, might be prevented, as in an old Rustick (E) Calender it's found: Written, in

the Month of May, *Segetes Lustrantur*, and in that of April, *Oves Lustrantur*. Neither are in this place, to be understood the *Lustra*, which were wont to be Celebrated at Rome by the *Censurs*, after the Census of Citizens was made by a Sacrifice of the *Suaveaurilia*; for they had ceased long ago, as appeareth by what *Consortinus* writeth in his Book of *Die Natali*; at which time the Office of *Censurs* also Ceased, which some endeavoured, though in vain, to re-establish.

18. By the Sacrifices of *Lustra*, here are meant Publick and Solemn Lustrations, which were Celebrated about the *Pomarium* of the City and the Fields, in a Procession called *Amburbia* and *Amburvalis*: The Beasts to be Sacrificed, being led about with certain Verses uttered in a Set and Solemn Feast-day; these were Solemnized upon several Occasions, as for the Fruitfulness of the Earth, and Plenty of Grain; upon inspection of the Sybiline Books, and a *Lestiferium* made for the procurement of the Peace of the Gods, as it was termed, or upon Threats of great Dangers, for Defence of the Country against Foreign Enemies; in which Solemnities there was a Lustration by intervention of a Torch, Sulphur, and Water, and Water was sprinkled according to *Tertullian*; of this sort Anciently were the *Armlustra*, whereby the Army in the *Campus Martius* was Lustrated by Sacrifice, as were *Navies*, *Temples*, *Altars*, and Pipes called *Tuba*, whence came the word called *Tubilustria*, concerning which the Testimonies of the Antients are very obvious.

19. That this Constitution not only respecteth such *Lustra* as were made against the Plague, or for benefit of the Villages; but also for Victory against an Enemy, the Characterism of the Date of it seemeth sufficiently to Witness. For this same Year, and the Consulship of *Severus* and *Rufinus*, the *Goths* made an Incurion into the Empire, and wasted *Thrace* and *Mædia*, whom *Constantine* Repulsed, and thence were Celebrated the Gothic Sports, whereof *Porphyry* in his Panegyric, Ancient Coins, and other things written concerning those Times bear mention, as the Calender called *Calendarium Henagianum*, the Author of his *Panegyric*, and an Anonymous of *Sirmundus* or *Valesius*. Now the Pagans *Constantine*'s Life, and an Anonymous of *Sirmundus* or *Valesius*. Now the Pagans thought they could more easily force Christians to those Solemnities, because they were Celebrated without the more Superstitious Rites and Ceremonies; as perhaps without mutations of the *Vitima*, and Circumductions already abolished, neither Sacrifices of the *Holste* (for it is requisite to expels those things in their proper Latin Terms) so that it seemed not so clear, but that Christians, without wounding their Consciences, might be present at them: And the publick Profit was pretended, as the welfare of the Prince and Empire; in which case to them, as *Apuleius* saith in his first Apology, nothing seemed Criminalous.

20. And indeed *Constantine* himself in another business, seemed to Subscribe to their Opinion, before the making of this Law; by giving way to those Spells and Incantments which were used for the Health of his Subjects, left Divine Favours or the Labours of Men should be abolished. Which Constitution *Justinian* is justly wondered at for putting into his Code, and *Leo Philopophus* abolished out of as just Indignation. Although that *Constantine* afterwards receded from it: The Learned *Goribod* doth not doubt, seeing he Abrogated the use of the *Aruspices*, which he had formerly Tolerated as we have seen, under pretence therefore of publick Safety, especially the *Gentiles* believed that Christians were to be Compelled to the Sacrifices of the *Lustra*. Old Customs and Rites used by Ancestors Time out of mind, carrying over a great shew of Reason, if by Ancestors out of Devotion to Prince and Commonwealth; which pretence *Theodosius Junior* Condemneth by a Constitution, concerning the observation of the Lords-day, as we shall see in due time and place. So that the Pagans objected to Christians Impiety and Irreverence towards their Prince and Country, who on the other side refused to joyn in this Solemnity, or be defiled by Idolatry; to a rejecting Communion in all such Cases, however such things were covered by a specious Pretence of the Publick Safety; whence the Calumny of *Zozimus* appears manifest, who writes that *Innocent* Bishop of Rome, in the Time of *Honorius* amongst such Fears and Dangers as were then great, because of the *Goths* War, consented to certain *Pagan* Rites for defence of the Empire, preferring the Publick Safety, saith he, before his own opinion. And like to this is his other slander of *Constantine* himself, who he saith till this time gave Credit to the *Aruspices* though a Christian. But by those Slanders of *Zozimus* we may learn that the true and proper Judgment of Christians, was to abstain from Communion with *Gentiles*.

21. But

The Gothic Sports are celebrated by the Pagans.

And in some fort consequence by the Emperor.

Nihil quod foredum solutus gratis fecit criminosum.

G. Th. de. malicia & Mart. Novella. 63.

G. Th. de. Spectacula in domino.

L. 2. §. 1. G. 1.

Who they were that were proscribed by the former Law.

21. But it's made a question who they were that the *Gentiles* would compel to those Solemnities, and consequently who the Emperor protects from their violence by this Law. He nameth certain Ecclesiasticks and the rest that Serve the Catholic Sed, then afterward such as Obey the most Holy Law, by whom it is questioned, whether the Clergy alone, or all Christians promiscuously be meant. But who can believe that Ecclesiastical Persons are barely meant, or that they only rejected Communication in those Sacrifices, and not also the rest of the Christians? The general Inhibition of the Law sufficiently declares it, which takes care that no such be compelled to the Rite of a strange Superstition, who serve the most Holy Law, wherefore the Phrases *Catholica Sed servientes, et Sanctissima legi servientes*, are such as Imbraced the Christian Faith and lived accordingly, not such only as Ministred in Sacred Offices. But *Constantine* by a great Penalty prohibits this Disorder, viz. by beating them with Clubs, if of vile condition, or imposing on them an heavy Fine, if Noble, which should Issue to the Publick not to the Exchequer, but the publick Treasury of the Cities concerned, as this same Emperor allotted another Fine two Years after; and then the Cities, of Italy must here be meant, wherein *Helipidius* was *Præfectus prætorio*, to whom the Law is Inscribed.

C. 76. d. 10.
l. 1. n. 2.
judic. 1.

A Canon prohibiting sacrifices to Idols, concurring with the Emperor's edict.

22. Hereby may both the Mind of *Constantine* and the Discipline of that Age be fully discovered; there being Canons also made at *Ancyra*, by a Council held there Ten Years before, to this same purpose, whereby not only Sacrificing to Idols but also eating in their Temples and Feasting with Pagans is forbidden, the Ninth Canon being made against such as Constrained their Brethren to do it, or gave cause of that Compulsion; not to speak of those pretended to be made at *Elberis*, of the Credit of which many justly doubt. *Julian* the Emperor afterwards knowing the Carefulness and Shiness of Christians in this respect, laid what Gins and Snares he possibly could for them, exposing the Faces of Princes (afterward called *Labratæ*) amongst the Images of their Gods for the People to Worship; and putting them upon offering Incense which he knew was all one with denying Christ.

The taking of Pagan Offices objected to Christians.

23. As for that which some object concerning several Offices born by Christians, and mixed with Idolatry, whereby they would make it appear that all Communication with the *Gentiles* was neither forbidden nor thinned, it's apparent that the Offices of *Centenarii* and *Dendrophori*, were never born by Christians, but at length abolished as Fragments of Pagan Superstition, and the other of *Synarchæ* and *Asarchæ* were not at all contaminated by any Superstition belonging to the care and oversight of Game and publick Mirth, which though at first might have been Infratuated upon Superstitious Grounds, yet now was only improved to innocent Recreation, whereof this Age was very cautious, especially *Antioch* the Metropolis of *Syria*, where the *Synarchæ* resided, and the Games called *Synarchia* were exhibited.

Vide Jacobi Gothofredi deinde Christianorum cum Gentilibus communem.

And that Constantine and his Successors were still Pontifex Maximus.

24. But the main objected in this Argument, and that which requires a serious scrutiny in this matter of Reformation is, that *Constantine* as also his Successors *Valentinian*, *Valens* and *Gratian* for some time bore the Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, and therefore neither esteemed a Pagan Name, nor improvement unfitting for him. For this Accusation *Zozimus* is brought as a Witness, who Writes (a) so much in express words with whom accords (b) *Baronius* in his Annals, though formerly in his Notes on the *Roman* Martyrology, he gave him the lye as to this particular. And more reason he had so to do, then at length thus to pass over to his Party, that Historian having neither any probable Author or Ground for his Assertion, he himself confessing that he had not this Fable from any Creditable Person, but taken it upon hear-say and common Discourse, then which nothing is more vain and uncertain. Then what a worthy Author *Zozimus* is, how much to be Credited in such Cases we may see, both by his inveterate hatred to Christianity moved wherewith he wrought his Book, which is stuffed with such Fables and Calumnies against Christian Emperours, and others of that Religion, especially *Constantine* and *Gratian*, because he began the Reformation, and this Emperour more effectually enforced it by stopping the allowance formerly given to Superstitious Ceremonies, the Stripends allowed to Priests, destroying the Altar of *Vitiorum*, and other Portentous Images, as St. *Ambrosi*, St. *Hierome* and *Symmachus* do Testify.

25. Yet could it be granted that *Zozimus* was not at all guilty of Spleen and Malice, how can he be Credited who so palpably Erred in a matter of greatest Concernment? Concerning *Gratian*, Writing that for fear of *Maximus* the Tyrant

(a) Lib. 4. p. 760. 761.
(b) ad A.D. 321.

Both which are sufficiently confuted.

From the Constitutions and Corps of those Christian Princes.

rant; having passed the *Alps*, *Rhetia*, *Novicum*, *Pannonia* into the upper *Myfia*, he was slain at *Singidunum*, whereas other Historians unanimously agree that being worsted near *Paris*, he fled and was Slain about *Lyon*. Farther if we Consult other Writers, a deep silence there is, not one word of this Story of the Pontificate which *Zozimus* tells us, but in a matter of such Moment, who can imagine they should say nothing? Would Pagan Writers, especially the Pangeyrists, whereof those Times were Fruitful, have omitted this Title so great, so plausible, when they Extol Christian Emperours to the Skies, and pass not over things of slight consequence? On the other side would the Fathers and Ecclesiastical Writers have omitted to reprehend them for so scandalous an Office and Title, who are not wont to dissemble lesser Faults of Princes? Or who can think that by *Hereticks*, or one or another, this would not have been laid to their Charge?

26. Then if we look on the Constitutions of those Christian Princes, their Coyns and Medals, as also such Inscriptions as are not Falsified, there's nothing in them that gives the least pretence to this Assertion, although by them, especially the Titles of Emperours be largely set out. If we consider their minds and Inclinations, we shall find that by various Constitutions, they endeavoured to Eradicate Paganism out of the minds of their Subjects, as the Times and necessity of Affairs would permit, forbidding to all Christians Communion with the *Gentiles*, in their Superstitious Rites; how then could they themselves practice what they disapproved in others? and by ill examples Enervate their own Laws? Ecclesiastical Writers as, a) *Theodoret* and b) *Sozomenus* note it in *Julian* as a new thing, that he called himself *Pontifex Maximus*, as he also styles himself in a c) Fragment yet extant, not to mention Inscriptions where this Title is found. These things seem sufficiently to Convict *Zozimus* of Calumny and Falshood, as to his Assertion that those Christian Princes assumed this Title. As for what he adds that *Gratian* rejected it, who can believe that so memorable a thing would have been utterly forgot, or never mentioned by Christian Writers, who are ready enough to give Commendations where due, as mightily extoll the Piety and Christian Zeal of *Gratian*, especially St. *Ambrose* and *Aufonius*; then the difference of place makes against this Assertion. For if the Pontifical Habit was observed to *Gratian*, by the inferior Pontifices, and presently rejected by him, then must this have been done at *Rome*, where they resided and where we do not Read that *Gratian* ever came.

(a) Lib. 3. cap. 1.
(b) Lib. 5. cap. 1.
(c) pag. 545.

27. Notwithstanding some there are who go about to gain Credit to *Zozimus* his Story, being willing to believe that *Gratian* first rejected this Title, and for this reason you must know, because the Bishops of *Rome* then began to Challenge it as their due, *Baronius* a main Stickler for it in his Annals, though of another mind in his Notes upon the Martyrology, brings his first Testimony out of *Aufonius*, whence he will make in his return of thanks to call *Gratian*, *Pontifex Maximus*. But this faith *Gothofred*, is said gratis. For in two Places a) indeed *Aufonius* equalleth *Gratian* with a *Pontifex Maximus*, but for his Religion and Chastity as he plainly expresteth it. And in a b) third he calleth him *Pontifex Maximus*, but by a certain allusion in respect of the Old Pontifical Comitia, to which *Gratian* by Letters seemed to allude. The Second Testimony he fetcheth from Ancient Inscriptions; wherein besides other Titles of Emperours, this of *Pontifex Maximus* is found, and he instanteth in several, to be met with in the Collection of Inscriptions, by *Græterus*. Great heed is indeed to be given to ancient Inscriptions; but we must also consider that in them these Emperours assume not that Title to themselves, but it's given them by others, viz. The Superstitious *Romans* and *Italians*, as Pagans in this Age; Sacrificers who made Inscriptions to the Entrails of Beasts; for Christian Emperours (who certainly approved no such things) as we have hinted formerly from c) *Ammianus*. And we must further know that some of those Inscriptions, had been formerly made for Pagan Emperours, whose Names being Erased, afterward those of Christian Emperours were Ingraven in their places.

(a) cap. 10. col. 20. & ea. 18. fol. 28.
(b) cap. 12. fol. 18.

28. This is evident from an a) Inscription belonging to *Constantine*, and taken notice of by b) *Baronius* himself, wherein in a Marble at *Rome* is read, *Magno & Invicto Imp. Cas. C. Val. Aurelio Constantino Pio, Fel. Invicto, Aug. Pontif. Max. Trib. Potest. Co. III. PP. Proc. D. N. Corpus Coriariarum &c.* That this Inscription first belonged to some Pagan Prince, is evident because in the left side of the same Basis are also read *Dedicatio Kal. Jan. DD. NN. Diocletiano III. & Maximiano Coss.* For this Consulship was before the time of *Constantine* as is most clear to all, and his Name afterwards inserted; for there are C. Val. Aurel. VVhich

(a) fol. 283.
(b) ad A.D. 312.

Pronomina never belonged to him, his *Pronomen* being *Flavius*, but are proper to *Maximianus*, not *Dioclesian* as *Baronius* imagined. This change of Names is also found in Money which was stamped anew with the Name of another Prince, and was used also in Statues and Images, which were made to serve for the Honour of another Person, their Heads or Titles being changed, as *Gothofred* observes, and is clear from many Witnesses.

29. So weak are the Testimonies brought by *Baronius* and *Morinus*, (a) who follows him herein; of no greater strength are their Arguments. They believe that Christian Princes reserved this Title, and might lawfully do it, without any Spot sticking on them from the Ceremonies, for the amplitude of Power therein contained; not out of love to Superstition, but for preservation of their Authority, without the Crime of Idolatry; not to perform any Ceremonies, but for the maintenance of their Prerogative. They urge, that without this Title, the Emperours should have been as no body, for that the Senate and People of *Rome*, would have presently conspired against him, as one who was not a Follower of the Religion of their Ancestors and Country. That the Authority of this *Pontifex*, was most ample above the Consuls, and therefore seemed necessary to the Emperours, that thereby they might, as by the chiefest Point of Religion, curb and restrain the Senate, which was often refractory towards Princes: and it seemed more necessary to them, as Christians, who might well perceive they reigned against the mind of the Senate; and by their Religion, raised the Envy and Malice of the *Gentiles* against them.

30. But to Divines this we leave to be discussed, whether it were an innocent Mystery of State only, or a Crime; and whether Christian Princes could, with a free Conscience, and without Idolatry or Superstition, envy the Title and Office of *Pontifex Maximus*. Concerning the necessity and utility of this Sophism, it is not amiss to say something. It is true that the old *Pagan* Emperours assumed this Title, as a strengthening of their Powers, so that they themselves, sometimes, performed the Ceremonies, and indeed exercised the Function of a *Pontifex*, as (a) *Domitian*, (b) *Adrian*, and (c) *Alexander Severus*. Yet for the imbracing of this Title, which could not possibly be separated from a mixture of *Pagan* Superstition, there was no necessity for Christian Princes, as if otherwise they could not be secure; seeing that then at *Rome* their Party became daily strangers, and *Pagan* Superstition daily decreased, which by the omission of such a thing, could not gather much advantage, the *Pagan* Superstition being restrained, and the Imperial Power confirmed, so that the Senate and People from *Constantine*, looked on them as Protectors of the City, and Authors of Peace and Quietness, receiving them gladly, and celebrating their Praises with all sorts of Pomp and Commendations; being permitted to enjoy some of their Follies, left too great strictness and severity should raise such a Tempest, as could not easily be dispelled, though by degrees a Reformation might be tolerated.

31. As for *Constantine*, could he take the name of *Pontifex*, a *Pagan* Title; who (as the Author of his Life falsely heretofore thought to be *Eusebius*, witnesseth) professed himself Bishop, *ἐπίσκοπος*, or those that are without) certainly it finally agreed with those Constitutions that were made against the Sacrifice of the *Lustra*, and his neglecting the Secular Games. *Baronius* addeth that the Christian Bishops granted these Emperours Power to assume that Title, but whereby doth this appear? Because they do not blame them upon this account, as for several other things; but it may justly be Argued on the contrary, that this was never done by Christian Emperours, because we do not find them, upon this account, Chidden by the Fathers, who are not wanting to reprehend them for lesser Faults. For that which *Baronius* urgeth as his greatest force, that Christian Emperours did not, as *Pagans*, assume the Robe and Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, being not initiated as others were, by drinking Bulls Blood, and otherwise, nor by Sacrificing to *Jupiter Olympius*, or other gods, (which had been an open Apostacy from Christian Religion, and not to be covered or dissimuled by any pretext) but only as *Zozimus* saith, that receiving the Robe, he used also the Title. But *Zozimus* his meaning is, not only the Habit and Title was assumed, but he mentions the Habit, as the Ensign of the Pontificate, as Princes by receiving the Purple, took on them also Imperial Power.

32. However, we mean not here the most heinous Crime of Apostacy (although *Baronius* objects that also to *Constantine* very strangely) nor inquire into the most wicked act of Superstition that could be thought; from which

Baronius

(a) In *Eccl. lib. 1.*

(a) *Plin. l. 4.*
(b) *Spartian. p. 11.*
(c) *Laurent. p. 111.*

Baronius would endeavour to clear the assuming of this Title. But Superstition he must be guilty of, had he assumed it; neither can one be accounted free from Idolatry, that is not guilty of the highest Crime of that nature, that doth not Sacrifice himself, or encourage that abominable Rite by his Authority. Although a Prince used only the Habit and Title in *Baronius* his Sense, yet consider seriously what this Habit was; a Pontifical and Priestly Stole, *ἱερατικὸν ὄνυχον*, as *Zozimus* calls it, a Sacred Vestment, Sacerdotal and *Pagan* Ornament; a painted Robe, not with any History out of the Gospel; doubtless as *Asterius* writes, the Clothes of Rich Men in *Cappadocia*, in his time, were wont to be neither wrought with the Images of Emperours as that *Trabea* or *Palmata* was, which *Gratian* sent to *Aufonius*, when he had designed him Consul, but were wrought and painted after the *Pagan* Fashion, such as was Mythical, and such as the *Pontifex Maximus* received from the hand of inferior *Pagan Pontifices*, as *Zozimus* witnesseth, which for a Christian to put on, was counted wickedness by *Gratian*, as that *Pagan* Author relates.

33. What account is to be made of *Zozimus* his Story, and the defence of *Baronius*, we may perceive by those things, both who make this Title to have ceased in *Gratian*. But there are some that proceed farther, and will have the Title of *Pontifex Maximus* used by Princes after his time, which they would prove from an Edict of *Valentinian* and *Marcian*, inserted into the third Action of the Council of *Chalcedon*, wherein these Emperours are called *Pontifices Inclyti*; so the Edition (a) of *Colan*, and such as have been printed from it: But that this is false, appears from the (b) *Greek* Copies, wherein no such matter appears, but those Princes are only styled *ἀρχιερεῖς* *Ἀρχιερεῖς*. That it was added by some foolish Writer or Printer it is clear, from other Demonstrations of his Folly; as there it is said that *Marcian* had repeated the Tribunitial Power seven and twenty times, whereas he Reigned but six Years and six Months; and the Tribunitial Power being a Consequence of the Imperial, now had been left off, and not mentioned. And there we find *Consul Semel*, a Form of Speech that was never used.

34. From all that has been said, it appears that *Constantine*, though the Year foregoing he had permitted the use of *Aurificina* to the *Pagans*, yet neither allowed Communion with them: in himself nor other Christians, but disapproved of whatsoever carried Superstition or Paganism with it in shew or Title. As for such things as had been instituted by the *Gentiles*, yet in their name had no appearance of Superstition they continued, as certain Temples cleaned of all Superstition afterwards when Paganism by degrees was banished, were suffered to continue for Ornament to the places where they stood. Naked and simple Names and Appellations of Things, Times, Temples and Places, were still used by Christians without any harm, or any Fellowship in Heathenish Rites, being established by common Conversation and Use (the Law and Rule of Speech.) The Holy Ghost hath not disdained to apply unto Sacred Purposes words of Art as it were, used by *Pagan* Writers, as *Paradisi*, *Edes*, *Apostolus*, *Clerus*. The false Divinities of the *Gentiles* they still called *Di* or *Gods*. So the first day of the Week they still called (a) *Sunday*, although sometimes adding something whereby it might appear that they could like better the Christian name, as *Theodosius* the younger chose rather to call it absolutely the (b) *Lords-day*. So the *Pantheon* was still so called, and the *Atrium* of *Misericordia*, where also Christian Princes exposed to view their Constitutions, because of the concourse of People thither made; all which things (c) *Tertullian* long before, when the Emperours were *Pagan*, although severe in his censures, would not condemn, so that there were Approbation not Participation in the thing.

35. That we should use this Form of Speech, saith he, *Custom* and *Conversation* exalts from us. For we must say, *He is in the Temple of Æsculapius, in the Street of Isis, and he is made Jupiter's Priest, and many other things of this nature, seeing that Men are thus named.* Neither do I honour Saturn, if I call any one by that name; nor Mars, if I call him Mars. If Gods are to be mentioned, something is to be added, whereby it may appear, that I of my self, do not so count them, as the Scripture names Gods, but adds, their Gods, or of the Nations. As *Tertullian* thus exculceth these things, so he affirms it to be a Prevarication in Faith, for any Christian to swear by the Gods, which Custom and Ignorance sometimes extorted. But as in other things, Christian Princes took special care, not to joyn in Communion with *Pagans*; so they

(a) *P. 826.*
(b) *P. 444.*

(a) *C. Th. de festis l. 1. c. 1.*
(b) *Id. de cons. l. 1. c. 2.*
(c) *Id. de festis l. 1. c. 1.*
(d) *Id. de festis l. 1. c. 1.*

Several *Pagan* Names and Places kept up, but their Superstition abolished.

Christians not suffered to swear by the Gods, or by their Gentile.

C 2

would

would not suffer their Subjects to swear by *their Genius*, yet by *their Health* or *Safety*, they did according to the ancient Custom of Christians, by which kind of Oath they witnessed that the thing was as true and certain, as they desired the Safety and Prosperity of the Emperour.

36. But (to return to our Prosecution of such particular Acts of *Constantine*, as respected the Reformation) our Emperour, in the Twentieth of his Reign, by an *Edict*, commanded the bloody Combating of Gladiators to be taken away, willing, that such as for Offences committed against the Laws, had been wont to be subjected to such Conflicts, should be condemned to the Mines; although the Times were such, that this Exercise could not presently be abolished, continuing a long time, but at length it was quite taken away, upon what occasion we shall see hereafter. The Punishment of Malefactors by the Crofs, he also forbid, as *(b) Sozomenus* tells us, who addeth, that he caused his Image upon Coins or in Pictures to be done with a Crofs; as the Lance he was wont to use in Battel, some say *(c)* he caused to be fashioned into the Form of a Crofs, which being left to his Successors, defended as low as *Henry* the Emperour, and his Son *Otto*.

37. After the Celebration of the *Nicene* Council, which was in the same Year, the former Edict was made, he more vigorously prosecuted Idolatry, though he constrained no Idolaters, as we said, to his own Religion, but only exhorted and sought to turn them by gentle means. *Eurapius Sardinianus* complains that he overturned the most famous Temples in the whole World, and every where erected Christian Structures. That this was done presently after the Council of *Nice*; *Eusebius*, or the *(a)* Author of his Life testifies, as also *Socrates*. The former tells us, that some of the *Pagan* Temples, were, by his command, untiled, and the Gates pulled down; others were quite demolished, and the Tiles and Timber carried away. And some Graven Images, which the Heathens had of a long time ignorantly adored, were erected in the Market-place of *Constantinople* as opprobrious Spectacles. Here *Pyrrhus* was placed, there *Sminthius*, in the *Cirque* the *Tripos* of *Delpbos*, and the *Heliconian* Muses in the Palace. Having once resolved, he thought not fit to effect his Intentions by any hostile Violence, but making choice of certain trusty and approved Persons, sent them into all Places to suppress their inveterate and anciently received Errors. This they did, which must be understood in part, and as the times would give leave, for all Idolatry was not abolished, nor all *Pagan* Temples broken down a long time after.

38. But mention being made by the forecited Writers of *Constantinople*, how Images were in derision erected in the Forum of it, we must not forget to signify, that the Reformation of Religion gave occasion to the building of that City, if *Zozimus* may be believed. He writeth, that a certain Festival-day being come, wherein it was the Custom for the Army to ascend into the Capitol, he spoke against the Ceremony contumeliously, and contemning it, incurred the Hatred both of Senate and People, whose Curses not able to bear, he sought where he might find a City equal to *Rome*, wherein to fix his Imperial Seat, and at length pitched upon *Byzantium*, which happened to be Dedicated afterward in the Five and twentieth Year of his Reign. In his One and twentieth Year, having taken away the publick Schools of *Lust*, he published an *(a)* Edict against private Uncleannesses, Ordaining, that if any Woman lay with her Slave, she should be put to death, and he burnt. A little after he took away the use of *(b)* Concubines, which yet came in fashion again, and was permitted in the time of *Justinian*, so a Man was unmarried, and had but one, which thing being a great flaw of that Age, and very scandalous to Christianity, was by *Leo Philopropheta* removed, *(c)* Ordaining, that it should not be lawful for Christians to have Concubines, subjoining that excellent Reason out of *Solomon's Proverbs*: "That it was an unworthy thing, when Water might be had out of a pure Fountain, to seek for a muddy a diffempered one; neither could it be difficult for any to find a Comfort and Yoak-fellow. Whole example *Constantine Porphyrogeneta* imitating, that amongst Christians there should no difference be accounted betwixt a Concubine and an Whore; and that it should not be lawful for any Christian to have one, as *Flarnopolus* witnesseth.

39. *Constantine* his new City being perfected, was a great Monument and Testimony of the Reformation. For he *(a)* purged it from all Superstition and Idolatry, so that no where therein were Statues of Idols in their Temples, nor Altars defiled by the Blood of impure Sacrifices, nor Feasts of Devils celebrated. *St. Augustine* *(b)* reckoning up the several parts of *Constantine's* Felicity; amongst other Accounts this not the least, That God granted his desires in building a City, which should be as the equal or Daughter of *Rome*, but without any Temple or Image of Devils. He adorned it with many Churches, whereof one was called the Church *(c)* of the *Apostles*; another of *Peace*, being also called *Sapience*; and another *(d)* built without the City, and named *Michaelium*, in memory of *St. Michael* the Archangel, who is said, there to have appeared; besides others mentioned by *(e) Nicephorus*; all which he took care should be well furnished with Books, the charge of which Work, he imposed on *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* by this Letter.

40. Seeing *(a)* that by God's Divine Providence, a great multitude of People in this City, which is called after me *Constantinople*, have devoted themselves to the true Church; it is fit, that as their number increaseth, so more Churches should be erected. Know therefore, that we thought it necessary to signify to your Wisdom, that you should provide fifty Church Books, containing those parts of Scripture which you think most useful and profitable to the Church, and most portable, being fairly and legibly writ in smooth Parchment. And we, out of gracious Clemency, have sent our Letters to the Governour of your Province, to furnish you with all things necessary for the charge thereof; you ought only to take care the Books be written with all speed. And we give you Power and Authority, by these our present Letters, to take up two Waggoners for carriage of the Books. Moreover, when they are fairly written, I would have them brought to me by a Minister delegated to that purpose out of your Church, whom when he comes, we will reward. God keep and preserve you dear Brother. The Emperours command was speedily performed, so that we sent him, faith our Author, fifty Books curiously written in Parchment, as may appear by his Letters of Answer, wherein he signified his joy and gladness when he heard that *Constantia* (formerly called *Gaza* in *Palestine*, but upon this change, named by him after his Sister) was Converted from Idolatrous Superstition, to the true Religion.

41. But not only at *Constantinople*, but in *Italy*, at *Rome*, and throughout the Empire, great was his Magnificence in the building and endowing of Churches, concerning which, a Book was written, which *Anastasius* the *Vatican* Library keeper published out of it; several are mentioned by the Author of his Life, and other Writers. He commanded one to be built in the very place where our Saviour's Sepulchre was, which the Heathens endeavouring to deface, had there built a Chappel to *Venus*; Vast was the Magnificence of this Church, as it is described in his *(a)* Life; wherein are also mentioned others built at *(b)* *Bethlem*, and on the Mount of *Olives*, at *(c)* *Nicomedia*, and other Cities; one at the *(d)* Oak of *Mambre*, where it was thought our Saviour appeared to *Abraham*; another at *(e)* *Helicopolis* in *Phœnicia*, where was demolished the Image of *Venus*. Others speak of the *(f)* lately Church from the former called *Constantiniana*, but more commonly *Saviour's* at *Rome*, below his Palace on Mount *Calvus*, having before caused to be built a more stately one at the Confession of *St. Peter*, where he himself first opened the Ground, and in memory of the Twelve Apostles, bore upon his shoulders so many Burthens of Earth; as *Velpasian* had formerly done, at the re-edifying of the Capitol. Many, besides these, were raised in *Italy*, *Gall*, and other Parts, so Manificently built, splendidly furnished, and plentifully endowed, that *Pagan* Historians hence accuse him of immense Profusions, and extravagant Building of unprofitable Places.

42. Yet notwithstanding these vast Expences, such was the Abstinence both of him and several his Successors, that having the Wealth of the Idol-Temples in their Power, though such a thing might have been done upon a Religious account, and to make amends for all the Injuries and Losses the Christians had sustained from the *Pagans*, for above three hundred Years, they abstained from it at *Rome*; although in the last, where the Influence of the Senate was not so great, sometimes *Constantine*, as he justly might make bold with it, as the Author *(a)* of his Life writes concerning Golden Images which he caused to be melted, and reserved the Metal to his own use. Such also was his Modesty, that

Adorns his new built City with diverse Churches.

Furnishing them with Books.

Builds another Church at our Saviour's Sepulchre.

With several others in diverse places.

His Abstinence in not meddling with the Wealth of the Idol Temples near Rome.

(a) Euseb. for Auth. vide Conf. l. 3. c. 47.

(b) Drevius. Dec. 1. 5. c. 25.

(c) Socrates. l. 2. c. 12.

(d) Sozomenus. l. 2. c. 2.

(e) Nicephorus. l. 2. c. 2.

(a) Euseb. in vit. Conf. l. 4. c. 50.

(a) L. 1. c. 2. c. 2.

(b) Conf. 40. c. 4.

(c) C. 49.

(d) C. 50.

(e) C. 51.

(f) Vita.

Synopsi apud Baronium ad A. D. 324.

His Modesty that although he had Erected so many Monuments of his Glory, yet upon none of them was his Name engraved, contemning that which most of his Predecessors had so earnestly thirsted after, of whom *Trajan*, though accounted the best, caused his Name to be affixed to all his publick Works, so that *Constantine* facetiously and wittily called him *herba parietina*, as *Aurelius Victor* tells us.

43. Such was *Constantine's* Care and Cost for the publick Worship. For the encouragement of private Persons, we read, (a) that (besides what we have formerly mentioned) he Ordained, that such Sons or Slaves that were born in Superstition, should not be forced to keep to it against their minds: that Maintenance out of the Exchequer was plentifully allotted to such as turned Christians: in the first place a white Garment for Baptism, and twenty *Solidi* were allowed, provided (you must know) that they brought for their admittance, a Ticket from the Bishop of *Rome*. (b) *Nicephorus* writes, that in one year at *Rome*, were Baptized above twelve Men, besides Women and Children. In the former Treatise is found, that *Constantine* at the same time in the *Vatican* Palace, made an Oration to the *Roman* Senate and People, 'Concerning the Faith of Christ to be embraced by all, leaving yet a free choice to every one, what Religion they would cleave to; but declaring, that they were more acceptable that turned Christians. To the same purpose he published an Edict, which we have exemplified in his (c) Life, directed as well to the Princes of the East, as those of the West, wherein he asserts the truth of divers Arguments first, and then invites all to embrace it, declaring that none should be forced, but received if coming on their own accord, and permitting others to frequent the Temples of their Idols, and use their Rites. From which it appears that such are mistaken, who suppose that all Temples were shut up, and their Ceremonies banished utterly, especially in *Italy*, and those places where the *Roman* Senate had the most Influence. Yet did he forbid such Magistrates, publicly to Sacrifice to Idols, as were chosen from amongst the *Pagans*; by a Law prohibited Divinations, and Commanded, as we have said, Churches to be built, as he had given example at *Rome*, larger than ever.

44. We must also account the Munificence of *Constantine*; which he shewed towards his new Citizens of *Constantinople*; not only an encouragement to such as should inhabit that City, but also to the Profession of Religion, if we consider the reason alleged by *Zozimus* for the founding of it, and the great care the Emperour took to have it clear from Idolatry, making it a Christian Colony, and the first Christian City (universally such) throughout the Empire. First of all he bestowed Bread (a) on such as had Houses at *Constantinople*, which Loaves were called (b) *Palatine*. Others (c) he assigned to Soldiers that also had Adorned the City with Buildings. And other Loaves (d) that year wherein he was Consul, he caused every day to be distributed to the common sort, to which he added Wine, Flesh, and Oil, as *Suidas* (e) tells us, which was observed for many years. (f) One says he daily bestowed on the Poor eighty thousand Loaves, (g) another eighty thousand Modii of Wheat. This Bread was coarse, weighing two Ounces and an half. But *Valentinian* gave it pure weighing six Ounces, and the allowance was increased afterward, both by (h) *Theodosius* the Great, and (i) *Marcian*. For the distributing of it, Scaffolds were erected in many places, to which the Poor ascended by Steps. For one only place being not capable of such a vast Multitude, one hundred and seventeen Marble Stairs or Steps throughout the fourteen Regions of *Constantinople* were made, as we find in the Ancient Description or Survey of that City placed before the *Nativity*, whence this Bread was termed *gradulus*, it being unlawful for any to receive it, but on the Stairs according to assignment.

45. For to every Tribe certain Stairs were assigned, which it was unlawful to change; the Officials of the *Præfectus Annonæ*, to whom (a) the care of this distribution was committed, strictly looking into it. These Loaves are called *Civiles*, because they were bestowed on *Cives* or Citizens in distinction, from the *Palatine*, and others that were given to certain Schools or Academies of War: this *Annona* or Provision was also called (b) *Popularis* and *Civica*. The same sort of Liberality, but not in such a measure, had *Trajan* shown at *Rome*; allowing Food to (c) twelve thousand Boys and Girls, of which *Aurelian* increased the number, as *Popiscus* saith; whereupon in most of the Coins of *Trajan* and *Adrian*, these Stairs are seen, by which the People ascended to receive Bread, on the top whereof is seen a Scribe, and another with a Badge

of distinction, who distributed the Loaves. At first this Allowance could neither be alienated, nor transferred from one to another; but afterwards being alienated, *Theodosius* confirmed the Contracts, and permitted it to be removed from one to another, so that afterward they might both be alienated otherwise, and given in Dowry.

46. Yet his care extended not only to the Living, he thought it a Point of Christian Prudence and Piety to provide for the decent Interment of the Dead; and therefore Instituted a company of Men, who were to take care of it gratis, being called *Leſtuarii*, for carrying the Dead out on Beds, and *Decani*, perhaps because they were divided into Decads or Tens. For the maintenance of this Company, he gave to the greater Church of *Constantinople* Nine hundred and fifty Shops, to which *Anastasius* afterward added One hundred and fifty, with certain other Revenues. The Prefect of the City had the inspection over them, whom *Justinian* ordered to restore some of them to the Church which had been usurped by private Men, and appoint to the Defenders of the Church (*Defensores*) Eight hundred, to the *Oeconomi* or Stewards Three hundred, who out of their Revenues should monthly allow Four hundred Aurei to Religious Persons, viz. to the *Decani* One hundred eighty two, those called *Aſceti* or Eight *Moniales*, who sung after the Beire Ninety one, to *Aclythi* that carried Lights Ninety one, to *Canonical Women* that served the Hospital and Sung, Thirty six; which Sum yearly amounted to Four thousand eight hundred Aurei. Such as would be at a greater Expence, both for Beds (or Biers) and more *Aſceti* too, were to pay what is specified in the Novel of *Justinian*, which will have an *Aſceti* to consist of Eight *Moniales* and Three *Aclythi*. But the *Leſtuarii* bore the Body, made the Grave, and did other things belonging to this Office, whereupon they were called *nominal* or Labourers, being put in their places by the Prefect of the City. At *Constantinople*, it is not certain where their Residence or Habitation was, though it be probable that they lived together, that so they might the more easily be found out, as at *Rome*, where they lived in one place (in the Fourteenth Region of the City) called *Castra Leſtuariorum*. As for their number, it doth not appear.

47. Thus much did *Constantine* really do for a Reformation, first removing Penal Statutes against Christians, then encouraging them by Restitution of their own, afterward by discountenancing Idolatry, as much as the necessity of times would permit, and by his Liberality towards Professors of the true Religion. The Pastors or Bishops thereof, he embraced with singular kindness, and a tender Fatherly care, not frowning amongst them Discord, but composing their Differences, not by owning a Monarchy in a Monarchy, or making one Lord of the rest, and of all Gods Inheritance; by giving him encouragement in earthly Dominion, or affording fuel to that flame of Ambition, which should at length prey upon the whole Christian World. Yet some Men have proceeded to that Vanity, as having first fancied to themselves a Spiritual Monarchy by Divine Right, in the next place, to impose a necessity upon the same Providence, for the maintenance of it in a secular way, and *Constantine*, the first Reformer, Incourager and Indower, must have the Honour, not only to provide for the Body due maintenance, but a Crown also for the Pride and Haughtiness of a Supposititious and Prodigious Head. The good Man dreamed of nothing less. He knew no Head of the Church but him in Heaven, and though priority of place he might account reasonable to him who governed the Church in the Metropolis of the Empire, yet he perfectly understood the quality and limits of his Power, not judging his own concerns in Religious Matters, less than those of the Kings of *Israel* in old time, nor imagining that our Saviour, who said his Kingdom was not of this World, had designed the lessening of Temporal Power, or subduing it wholly to a Spiritual Empire.

48. Yet is he made a great and voluntary Agent in such a prodigious Design, and as a Testimony thereof, a Constitution of his is produced, whereby a vast Temporal Dominion is bestowed on *Sylveſter* Bishop of *Rome* and his Successors. Great difference there is amongst the Assertors of the Spiritual Empire, concerning the Authority of the Edict, and even the verity of the Donation, the reputation of it being almost extinct, till a little revived of late times by one *Marta* a Doctor of *Naples*, who is so confident of the certainty and truth thereof, that he saith, *Non esse ulterius dubitandum*, None ought hereafter to doubt, but that it was really made by *Constantine*. But that which gives greatest countenance to the Edict, is the Decretal Epistle of Pope *Leo* the

He provides for the Interment of the Dead.

His further kindness to Christians and his Religion.

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the Ninth, who *verbatim* almost, repeats it whole so far as concerns the Donation.

A forged
Edict of Con-
stantine, to
Silvester Bp.
Bishop of Rome.

49. "As namely how *Constantine* wrote in his Edict, that he would exalt the most Holy See of *Peter* more than his own Empire or earthly Throne, giving unto that See, *Potestatem dignitatem & honorificentiam Imperialem*, Imperial Power, Dignity, Vigor and Honour, (whereby the Pope, of a Bishop, is made an Emperor, and above the Secular Emperor himself.) "How he Decreed, that the *Roman* See *Principatum teneat*, should be Chief of other Churches, and have Principality above the See of *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, *Jerusalem* and *Constantinople*, and of all other Churches in the World, (whereby the Spiritual Principality above other Patriarchs and Bishops is conferred on the Pope.) How he gave to *Sylvester* and his Successors for ever, his *Lateran Palace*, which is preferred above all Palaces in the World, his Diadem and Crown, his *Mandilion*, his Cloak, his Coat, & *omnia Imperialia indumenta*, all Imperial Robes which he himself wore, his Imperial Guard, his Imperial Scepter, & *omnem processionem Imperialis cultus*, *et gloriam potestatis nostrae*, and all the residue of his Imperial Dignity, Honour and Power. There is his Estate such, and so Pompous, that *Constantine* himself, (as the Charter saith) held the Pope's Bridle, and performed *officio Stratoris*, the Office of a Groom of the Stable, or Yeoman of the Stirrup unto the Pope. Here to the end that the Pontifical Height should not seem vile, but be Adorned more than the Dignity and Power of the earthly Empire; he gave unto *Sylvester* and his Successors for ever, both the City of *Rome*, and all the Provinces, Places and Cities of *Italy*, and the Western Countries, Decreeing all these his Grants to be kept inviolable and unchangeable, *usque in finem mundi*, even to the end of the World. Here's the Popes Revenues, and the Rich Patrimony of *St. Peter*.

50. Thus much and far more doth Pope *Leo* *verbatim* recite, out of the Edict or Charter of *Constantine*, all which he saith, he sets down, left any scruple of doubt should remain, touching the Popes earthly Dominion, *Neve leviser suscipiemini ineptis & anilibus fabulis sanctam Romanam sedem velle sibi incesum bonorem vendicare & defendere aliqua tenus*; Left any should so much as be lightly suspect, that the *Roman* See would challenge, or any way defend their Honour, by foolish and uncertain Fables. Yea, he adds of this Edict, and that which he cites out of it, that he therefore relates it that hereby, *Veritas fundetur & confundatur Vanitas*; That Truth may be confirmed, and Vanity confounded, and that all Catholics may know, *nos*, himself and other Popes, to be the Disciples of that *Peter*, who saith of himself, *We have not followed Unlearned, or sophisticated or falsely devised Fables*. And yet more to Commend this Edict, he adjoins; "Know ye that we do inculcate unto you these things which we have not so much recovered, *Relatu qualiter*, by any Relation or Hearsay, *quam qua ipso visu & tactu comperta sunt*; as which we have found out by our own sight and feeling. Thus writes Pope *Leo* for the Certainty, Truth and Credit of this Charter of Donation, to Pontifically and Assuredly, as one saith, as if he had seen *Constantine* set his Seal unto the same, or lay it with his own hand upon the Body of *St. Peter*, as the same *Leo* saith he did.

Which is
plainly proved
to be such upon
these accounts

51. This Charter carries in its own Face such manifest Tokens of Forgery, that the recital may well enough seem a sufficient Confutation of it, and to such as are conversant in Histories, and not ignorant of the State of *Rome*, and all the Western Provinces long after *Constantine's* time, and how they were governed, it cannot but seem exceedingly Ridiculous. But farther observe, that the very Ground and Occasion why *Constantine* is said to have made this Charter, is false and forged, *viz.* the supposed Leprosie, Persecution and Baptism of *Constantine* by *Sylvester*, as we shall see in due time and place. Secondly, who can abstain from smiling, to find the See of *Constantinople* mentioned in this Edict, as one of the Patriarchal Sees, whereas neither had it Patriarchal Dignity, before the second General Council, (that is more than fifty Years after the Donation is supposed to be made,) nor was there at that time so much as the name of *Constantinople*; for the City was then called *Byzantium*, and several Years after, not changing its name till after the *Nicene* Council, as *Baronius* acknowledged. But this Donation of *Constantine* being made a little after his supposed Baptism by *Sylvester* (the fourth day, as the Acts of that Pope declare) fell into the Twenty ninth year of his Reign, and that preceding the *Nicene* Council.

One

Epist. 1.
Lett. 9. c. 11.
23. 14.

Dr. Crocker
thorp in his
Defence of
Constantine.
p. 127.

One would therefore think that there was some Fraud used in the inserting of this name, but that there is an uniform Consent in all the Forms and Copies of the Charter, both *Greek* and *Latin*, kept safely in their Vatican, as they affirm, and ratified by the Decretal Epistle of Pope *Leo* for true and Authentic; so that there can be no supposition of Corruption in those words of the Edict: The Error and Corruption was in the Author alone, who forged such a gross and uncreditable Untruth.

52. But Thirdly, had *Constantine* given Principality to the *Roman* See above all Churches in the World, as the Charter saith he did, what Folly was in *John* Bishop of *Constantinople*, *Cyriacus* and others, to strive for that Preheminence? Why did not *Boniface* the Third shew this Charter made by *Constantine*? Why did he use so much intreaty and means to *Phocas* a Murderer (as *Platina* saith he did) that the Church of *Rome* might be called First of all Churches? When the same was long before almost three hundred years, granted by a fair Charter to the *Roman* See, by so worthy and renowned an Emperor. Fourthly, In this Edict *Constantine* is made solemnly to give to Pope *Sylvester* the *Lateran Palace* which *Sigismund*, *Baronius* and *Binius* (all) will have bestowed long before on Pope *Miltiades* his Predecessor, in the Seventh year of *Constantine's*, *viz.* twelve years before he was either Baptized, or made this Charter of Donation. Fifthly, in this Edict *Constantine* is made to say, that he will have all People in the World to know, that he had builded unto Christ within his Palace of *Lateran*, a Church from the very Foundation, together with a Font; yet was the Edict made, as they themselves profess, in the fourth day after *Constantine* was Baptized, and how then was it possible that such a Stately Fabric should be raised in four days? Especially considering that the Acts of *Sylvester* having declared what *Constantine* did all the seven days he was in *Albis* after his Baptism, say, that he laid the Foundation of this Church on the eighth day. Whether then could that Church be builded on the fourth day, whose Foundation was but begun and the Earth first digged on the eighth day after his Baptism?

53. Further, Sixthly, This Edict, as by the words of it are evident, followed the Leprosie of *Constantine* supposed, and his Baptism, and therefore could not be made before the ninth year of his Reign, wherein both these, *Baronius* and *Binius* account to have happened. Yet is it dated in the fourth Consulship of *Constantine*, which he exercised with *Gallicanus*, whereas his fourth Consulship was in the Tenth year of his Reign, by which account he should have made this Edict and Donation eight or nine years before the occasion and cause thereof was presented; besides (see the Stupidity of the Forger) not *Gallicanus*, but *Licinius* the fourth time was Consul with *Constantine* in his fourth Consulship, as appeareth both by the *Falsi* and many Imperial Constitutions of this Year. And indeed forasmuch as *Gallicanus* was never Consul with *Constantine*, as by the *Falsi* is evident, this Edict supposed to be made in their Royal Consulship was never made.

54. To these reasons may be added the Testimony of their Cardinal *Baronius*, with whom agreeeth *Gretzer*, who hath written an Apology for him in this very Point. He (a) proves it a meer Fictitious and Forgery, because first the ancient Popes since *Constantine's* time, though having many occasions to dispute against Princes touching the Rights and Prerogatives of the Church, yet none of them before the thousandth year after Christ, is read to have defended the same by Authority of this Edict, and yet they knew and make mention of *Sylvester's* Acts. 2. It is certain that the Emperours make no mention of that Edict of *Constantine's* Donation, and yet in the Charter of *Henry* the First, there is mention made of all the former Emperours who had made such ample Donations to the *Roman* See. 3. This Edict was not in the Ancient Acts of *Sylvester*, but was by Forgery inserted into them after the thousandth year of Christ, being feigned by some *Græcian* under the Name of *Eusebius*, and published by *Theodorus Balsamon*, whereas till then no *Græcian* had set it forth: and from the *Græcians* it came to the *Latins* and Western Church: *Leo* the Ninth being the first Pope that makes mention of it. Thus by the Cardinals acknowledgment, we may see what Truth there is in Popes, especially in *Leo*, who in his Decretal Epistle most solemnly commends this Edict for an Ancient and undoubted Evidence, such as he knew by fight and fence to be the true Deed of *Constantine*, which yet the Cardinal, after long sitting of Monuments and Records, testifies to be a Forgery, and that of the *Græcians* first of all devised, as he saith, about Seven hundred, and published Eight hundred years after the Death of *Constantine*. *Stenhus* (b) against this

(a) Baronius
An. 1191.
Num. 52. &c.

(b) De Dec.
Constant.

D

Date

Date asserteth it for marvelous Impudence in any to deny that this Donation or Edict is set down in those Acts of *Sylveſter*, whereof *Gelaſius* ſpeaketh, ſaying, I can produce all Libraries for witneſs hereof, all which have, together with the Hiſtory of *Sylveſter's* Baptizing *Conſtantine*, this Donation Privilege or Edict.

55. This *Stenſchus*, who was alſo Library-keeper to the Pope, convinceth as an eye Witneſs his Fellow *Baronius* of Impudence and Untruth, for denying this Donation to be mentioned in theſe Acts of *Sylveſter*, of which *Gelaſius* ſpeaks, and for flandering the *Greeks* as deviſers of it about the Year 1000, which to have been in their Vatican before that in the time of *Gelaſius*, he for a certainty aſſures us. Hence a Learned Man deſervethly breaks forth into this Exclamation: How may we truſt any Vatican Library-keeper, if *Stenſchus*, an Eye-witneſs, be not to be truſted in this Caſe? And if we credit him, who ever hereafter will truſt his Fellow *Baronius*, who thus notoriously downcaſeth the Truth? However one may rightly affirm that both of them do in part ſay truth, and both of them in part do err. That this Edict of Donation is a very Figment, *Baronius* rightly avoucheth, but *Stenſchus* and the reſt holding the contrary with him, ſpeak far amiſs. Again, that this Edict was of Ancient time in the Popes Library, and in thoſe Acts of *Sylveſter*, which *Gelaſius* mentioneth, in this *Stenſchus* deſerveth to be credited. But *Baronius*, in ſaying it was not extant till the 1000 year after Chriſt, nor published till *Balaſamus's* time, in thoſe the Cardinal ſaith far amiſs. So with *Stenſchus* we profeſs, and have proved alſo the ſame Edict to be nothing elſe but a Forgery and Figment. What they ſay amiſs we reſect in either: what they rightly affirm, we accept of either, and upon the true Confeſſion of *Baronius*, we conclude it to be a Forgery. And upon both theſe Truths, which they ſeverally profeſs, we rightly and ſafely conclude it to be an Ancient Forgery.

56. But though the Edict or Inſtrument of the Donation be forged or falſified, yet the Donation it ſelf may be good, ſaith (a) *Gretzer*, who for ſuch Labour, to defend it, telling us that the Popes have other undoubted Charters for their Temporal Dominions, (which Cardinal (b) *Albanus* flatly denies) though their Rights juſtly rely alſo upon the Donation of *Conſtantine*. His ſtrange reaſoning lies in perſuade, an acute Logician ſaith he, will ſay, That perhaps the Donation was made by witneſſes only without any Inſtrument. But though a frivolous cavilling Sophiſter may, yet no ſober Man will ſay ſo. Where are theſe Witneſſes, or who ever heard of them? Why may not the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* plead the like Donation by word of Mouth, of *Rome* and *Italy* from *Conſtantine* to him and his Succeſſors for ever; and ſay it is proved by Witneſſes, that now are dead without any Deed or Inſtrument to teſtify the ſame? And how can an acute Logician effectually overthrow the one and defend the other Donation? But to ſilence the Jeſuits acute Logician, three ſeveral Popes, viz. *Adrian*, *Leo* the Ninth, and *Nicholas* the Third, are Witneſſes that the Donation of *Conſtantine* was made by a Charter and Inſtrument, whereof the firſt ſaith of that Conſtitution, and others that they were kept in *Lateranenſi Scrinio*, in the *Lateran* Registry; and this was about the Year 790. The ſecond tells us he ſaw and handed the very Charter of *Conſtantine's* Donation, which was about the Year 1050. And the third ſaith that *Conſtantine* left unto *Sylveſter* the City of *Rome*, and declared *Per Pragmaticum Conſtitutum*, by a Pragmatical Conſtitution or Writ of Record, that he and his Succeſſors ſhould have the diſpoſing or Government thereof; which was about the Year 1280. To theſe might be added the Teſtimonies of Cardinal *Albanus* and ſeveral others, of whom ſome profeſs they were Eye-witneſſes of that (forged) Conſtitution.

57. *Gretzer* his acute Logician will farther ſay. It may be that the Inſtrument or Charter is either perished or corrupted by long Continuance. A Saying every whit as worthy and rational as the former. So may alſo another, and as good a Logician ſay of the Donation of *Rome* and *Italy* made by *Conſtantine* to the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople*. And whether is *Stenſchus*, with all Libraries, Pope *Gelaſius*, and *Leo* the Ninth, ſo aſſuredly teſtifying the forged Charter not to be loſt or perished: or *Gretzer's* Logician, coming in with another perhaps more to be credited in this Caſe? After theſe ſo furious Assaults of Logick, he leads on his great and prevalent Arguments, which he is forced to call *Probabilities* or *Conjectures*. One of the beſt is taken out of *Baronius*, who ſaith. It is not for nothing that the French Kings in their Writs of Donation do profeſs that they reſtore to the Roman Church the Dominions which they took from the Lombards.

Dr Crick-
amiquo ſepre.

But the Inference thence made, is neither neceſſary nor probable. They might be reſtored, though the Popes had got them by Invaſion, wrongful Intruſion, Fraud, Robbery, Rebellion or Treason, as the Popes got them in very Deed, from the Eaſtern Emperour, not poſſeſſing them by Right or by any Donation, much leſs that of *Conſtantine*, as is clear from *Signonius* an Hiſtorian of their own, and we ſhall particularly diſcover in due time and place. His other Conjecture is, Seeing it is moſt certain that before *Pipin's* time, yet before *Aripert's* (that is before the 704. year of our Lord) the Popes had divers Provinces ſubject to their Dominion, and there appears no Evidence for any other Title, whereby they ſhould have and hold theſe Lands, it followeth that the right to have them is not unprobably derived from the Donation of *Conſtantine*.

58. His Proof is only of the Patrimony of the *Cottian Alps*, and his Concluſion is of many Provinces, whereas that Patrimony was ſo far from (a) containing many or any one Province, that it was but certain Villages or Farm-houſes in the Northweſt Part of the Alps; and what is this to the Donation pretended from *Conſtantine*? A few Cottages or Farm-houſes, as he himſelf calls them, to *Rome*, to all *Italy*, to all the Weſtern Provinces and Kingdoms. And were there not many other means how the Pope might get them beſides *Conſtantine's* Donation? Beſides it is clear from *Signonius*, that *Aripert* and *Litprandus* gave of their own to the *Roman* See, as well as reſtored thoſe Farms, and how could they give what was its Right before? And farther, what is this Patrimony which their own Writers confeſs to have owned ſubjection to the Emperour by Tribute, to an Imperial Monarchical Supream and Independent Dominion in all *Italy* and the Weſtern Provinces? Theſe Arguments are too frivolous to be inſiſted on: we ſhall come to thoſe of our own againſt this Donation, which carry with them much more weight, and will, to any indifferent Perſon, put the queſtion out of all Diſpute. The firſt is drawn from the Teſtament of *Conſtantine*, wherein he is ſaid to have divided the whole Empire amongſt his Sons. To be ſure whether it was divided before or after his Death, the Weſtern Part fell to *Conſtantine* and *Conſtans*, the Eaſtern to *Conſtantius*, even by conſent of the Pope's greateſt Diſciples *Signonius* and (c) *Baronius*. Then is it at all to be believed, that if *Conſtantine* had formerly made, either by Word or Writing, an abſolute Donation of *Rome*, *Italy*, and the Weſtern Provinces to the Pope (and that ſo Solemnly, that as *Leo* the Ninth ſaith, he Deceit that Donation to abide firm and inviolable unto the end of the World) ſo Pious and Prudent an Emperour would within twelve Years after do contrary to his own Act? Eſpecially in his laſt Will and Teſtament, wherein he would rather have teſtified his Religious Affection and Love to the Church, by an Addition of ſome other Gift, than leave ſo eternal a Blemiſh upon his Name, of Inconſtancy, Injuſtice, Impiety, Sacrilege, and making his own Children Inheritors of what he knew was neither his to give, nor which they, without open Injuſtice (if he had right to give it) Impiety and Sacrilege might accept, hold or poſſeſs.

59. A ſecond reaſon is, the perpetual Poſſeſſion and Dominion which the Emperours had of *Rome* and *Italy*, with the Government thereof, which continued ſtill in them, not only after *Conſtantine's* time, but even whiſt he lived, till it was unjuſtly firſt taken from them by the Popes, and then confirmed by *Pipin*, *Charles* the Great and others. In the very next Year after this ſuppoſed Donation, was (d) *Severus* Praefect of *Rome* appointed by *Conſtantine* to govern it, with the Cities belonging thereunto, by Imperial Authority as it formerly had been: The next year after was (e) *Maximus*, the two following (c) *Ancius Fulvianus* and *Opallianus*, and throughout all *Conſtantine's* time, every Year he had his Lieutenants to Govern the City of *Rome* for him and in his Right. It were eaſy to expreſs almoſt in each Year the ſeveral Praefecti *urbis* under *Conſtans*, *Conſtantius*, *Valentinian*, *Theodoſius* and other Emperours, for more than One hundred Years after *Conſtantine*, and ſeveral have according to occaſion been mentioned. After the time of *Valentinian* the Younger, when the Weſtern Empire, through the Corruption of Barbarous Nations, began to decay, that the Supream Government of *Rome* and *Italy* ſtill remained in the Emperour his appointing Kings of *Italy*, after them *Dukes of Rome*, and Emarchs of *Ravenna* is a ſufficient proof, and this is evident, not only from other Authors, but *Signonius* (d) the Popes own Servant. Now can it be imagined that all theſe Emperours would ſo injuriouſly intrude into *St. Peter's* Patrimony? Can any one imagine that the Popes, Men of high Courage to defend their Right, would have put up ſo great Wrong, without ſo much as once

D 2 checking

(a) Signonius
de Reg. Ital.
lib. 1.

(b) De eccle-
ſiaſt. Imp. l. 5.
(c) de dom.
lib. 1.

(a) C. 7. l. 1.
de iudicis.
(b) C. 7. l. 1.
ad legem com.
de iudi.
(c) Orpheu.
in Fiſt. l. 2.

(d) l. 14. l. 15.

Which are
illy, and as
ſuch proved by
three convin-
cing Argu-
ments.

Another Po-
ſſible Argument
for the Dona-
tion

Drawn from
perhaps.

And from
Probabilities
and Conje-
ctures.

(a) Append.
ad lib. de me-
niſt. Princip.
(b) Lib. de
Don. Conſtant.

checking the Emperour for so open Injustice, Sacrilege, and Usurpation? May not the Silence of so many Popes, and continued Possession by so many Emperours, be thought a just reason to condemn that pretended Donation?

60. But the third Proof, that *Constantine* made no such Donation, is the Testimony of their own Writers, who seeing that neither *Eusebius*, *Rufinus*, *Theodoret*, *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Eutropius*, *Victor*, *St. Jerome*, *St. Augustin*, *St. Basil*, *St. Chrysostome*, nor *Ammonius*, the *Tripertite History*, *Damasce*, *Bede*, nor *Orsius*, nor any who have most diligently written the Acts of *Constantine* (being Authors of good Credit) not only do make no mention of this Donation, but further declare that he divided the *Roman Empire* amongst his Three Sons, that all *Italy* was allotted to one of them. And own it as a Fable concerning the Testimonies of whom, as also the Arguments offered by *Marta* and others in vain, to confirm the Fictitious Donation, amongst many others who have written abundantly to satisfaction in this Argument, Dr. * *Crakanthorp* a most Learned Church Antiquary is especially to be consulted, we having rather by saying so much, transcribed the Nature of our Design.

61. *Constantine*, though not guilty of such a Crime, as to found or establish a Spiritual Tyranny, yet sufficiently provided for the Patrimony of the Church, first by (a) restoring, as we formerly said, its Ancient Possessions, of which it had been robbed in times of Persecution, the Oblations and Treasures of the Church being before his time so very great, that the Bishops of *Rome* might easily purchase much more than that one Patrimony in the *Cottian Alps*, containing a few Farms or Villages. He became a very great Benefactor by that Law mentioned by the (b) Author of his Life, by Virtue whereof; If none of the Kindred of Martyrs Confessors and Exiles were alive, who might succeed them as Heirs, it was Enacted, that every where, and for ever, the Church should have and enjoy their Possessions. These Encouragements his own Example and the Religious Inclination of Christians, always affectionate in their first Conversion, were sufficient Foundations for ample Structures. Many private Men gave not only Goods, but Lands and fair Possessions both to other Churches and that of *Rome*. *Proper* (c) writes, that the Church of *Arles* was enriched with the Possessions that many bestowed on it. So many and so ample Donations of Lands were made to the Church in *St. Austin's* time, that both *Aurelius* (d) his Predecessor, and (e) himself also sometime, refused Lands that were offered to be given, sometimes restored them, and that unasked, after they were given. The like Donations might be shewed in other Churches, especially in the *Roman*, to which they were so usually made, that Christian Emperours (as *Valentinian*, *Gratian* and *Theodosius*) by their (f) Edicts did restrain them; and the like Laws were made in *Spain* and *France* in after-times, which were imitated by the Famous Statute of *Mortmain*, Enacted here in *England* Novemb. 4. in the Seventh Year of *Edward* the First. But thus much of the Reformation of Religion by *Constantine*, carried on as the Times and Affairs would comport, the Progress and Perfection of it we shall discover in due time and order.

Such large Gifts to the Church, that enforces a Statute of *Mortmain*.

* In his Defence of *Constantine* and his Treatise of the Pope's Temporal Dominion

(a) *Engh. Eccl. Hist.* 10. c. 5. & *via Constant. lib.* 2. c. 19.

(b) *L. 2. c. 16.*

(c) *De vita Constant. l. 2. c. 9.*
(d) *Serm. 49. de divers.*
(e) *Epistola: in vita Constant. c. 24.*

(f) *C. Th. l. 20. de Epist. Eccl. & clerica.*

CHAP. II.

The Church Polity.

Order and Government absolutely necessary.

1. That Government and Order are necessary for the well being of Mankind, however distinguished into Parties and Societies, is too evident to be disputed; the Effects of them, and of their Contraries, are so convincing, that they equal the Causes of the most clear Demonstrations. Such is the Depravity of Mens Minds and Inclinations, so violent their Tendency to all Mischief, that they can no more subsist without Government, that live without Disorders (if left to themselves) and mutual Injuries. Therefore hath the wife Creator and Disposer of all things, that he might regulate our Inconstancy, and bridle the Extravagance of our wild and violent Affections, ordained his Deputies in the World, with a Rule for Direction, and a Rod for the Corruption of Manners, with that to lead, and this to drive us on in the right way, lest the disturbance of Order should bring Confusion, and Confusion certain Ruine and Destruction.

2. Such being Gods Ordinance and Constitution in Civil Society and external Commerce, can it be supposed that equal Care should be wanting for the Government of his Church, which is the *House of God*, the *City of the living God*, the *Kingdom of his most dear Son*. He that takes such Care for Kingdoms of the World, would he not make as good Provision for such as he hath taken out of the World? If Disorder, Confusion and Anarchy be a thing to be dreaded in the State, is it not as much to be feared in the Church? God is no where the Father of Confusion, but of Order and Peace, how much more than in that Spiritual Community? Where he Commands that all things be done Decently and in Order? But what Order can there be, where there is no Government, where there is none that obeys, where every one may do what is lawful in his own Eyes? Therefore hath he appointed Stewards over his Family, Leaders over his Flock, Labourers over his Harvest, Husbandmen over his Field, in sum, Diversities of Administrations both for the Building and Preserving of his Church, which is the Body of Christ. In it hath he placed, as in the Humane Body, several Principal Members in Subjection and Subordination to himself the Head, which being as Eyes, Ears, Mouth and Hands, the Body might not seem Deformed and Maimed, nor be unable, for want of Help and Conduct, to look to it self, or provide for its own Health and Security. But we must not suppose that Discipline is necessary in the Church merely for to contain the People in Obedience, for regulating the Flock, and not for the Government of the Pastors. This were to secure the Feet, and neglect the upper and most Principal Parts, which by how much they are more Excellent, the Diseases of them are more Dangerous? The House cannot stand, if the Builders themselves pull it down, the Harvest must be lost, if the Labourers Scatter, and Gather not. If the Salt have lost its Savour, wherewithall it be Seasoned? If the Light of the day be Darkness, how great is the Darkness of the Body? If the Leaders themselves go Altray, the Soldiers must needs go aside and Wander.

3. Yet in a thing of such Consequence, and wherein no less than the Welfare of the Body of Christ himself is concerned, a Polity and Government is not to be Framed according to the Pleasure of Man, neither is his Fancy to be the Standard where Decency and Order are the utmost Bounds. An endeavour is to be used ever, that the same Administration of External Discipline be used in the Church, which our Lord himself hath taught, and from the Beginning of the World approved. Now that Polity which God appointed at the Beginning for the External Government of his People (the Internal by his Spirit in the Hearts of the Faithful we own and meddle not with) consisted in the Authority and Power given to Fathers over their Families. For he would that the Fathers should be both Instructors and Governours to their Children, Nephews, and all under their Power, commanding their whole Off-spring to pay them Honour, Obedience and Obedience, to acknowledge the Will of God revealed to their Fathers, and obey their Admonitions and Instructions in his Worship. A most certain

For Regulating the Flock as well as the People.

Paternal Government first appointed by God himself.

Christus Rex
sum Episcopus
Petrus
lib. de perpetua
Eccl. disciplina
cap. 1. & c.

certain Reward of this Obedience, was the Blessing of God pronounced by the Mouths of Parents, who also foretold the Curse of God against Disobedient and Rebellious Children. The Patriarchs of old were Priests and Prophets for their Progeny, and Magistrates also for the Government and Restraintment of them, it being the Will of God in those times to have his People ruled only by Paternal Power. Hence in the Decalogue *Moses* comprehends Princes *per Magistrates* in the name of Parents, and in the Old Testament almost every where Princes and Governors are styled Fathers, the Holy Ghost signifying that Princes ought to embrace and tender their Subjects with the same Love and Care that Parents bear to their own Children, for as much as by Divine Institution all the Power of Princes flowed from Paternal Authority. From *Adam* to *Moses* we have defending a Power of Fathers over their Children, and Eldest Sons (except where by an extraordinary Providence the Case was altered) over their Brothers and the rest of the Family, in a continued Series for the Government of the Church established and approved by God, but of Equality or Colation in Government, neither any Precept nor Example.

A Select
Tribe chosen
to the Exercise
of Holy things.

4. The Family of *Jacob* being grown into a Nation, that Domestick Discipline, as more agreeable to a Family than a Nation or Region, was abrogated; and out of Twelve Tribes one was chosen for the Exercise of Priesthood, and the Charge of all Holy things; wherein, according to the Number and Order of such Princes as descended from their common Progenitor *Levi*, God Ordained several Degrees and Dignities, for the Interpretation of the Law and the Service of the Altar, which Degrees were so regulated, that not only the *Levites* were under the Priests, but also of both sorts some were inferior and subject unto others. Of the *Levites* were Princes such as were Chief of the Families of *Gershon*, *Kohath*, and *Merari*, the three Sons of *Levi*, after whom followed other Fathers who directed their Brethren *Levites* in their Ministerial Function, and whereof some were made Judges and Magistrates, as well elsewhere as in their own Cities, not only in the work of the Lord, but the Kings business also. And some of them were Assistants in the Great Council or *Synodrium* of *Hierusalem*, to the Princes of the Priests and Tribes. Amongst the Priests themselves the Prime Dignity remained in the High Priest, who by Divine Institution was Chief or Prince of the Princes of *Levi*, and was over the Chiefest Judges at *Hierusalem*, as well Priests as others, in the Lords business. Which Honour was given him, not because herein he was a Type of Christ, but because this Form of Government was fittest for the Jewish Church: For neither *Aaron* nor any of his Successors represented the Kingly Office of Christ; otherwise our Saviour had been a Priest after the Order of *Aaron*, as well as that of *Melchisedeck*, if *Aaron* as well as *Melchisedeck* had obtained as well the Dignity of King as Priest: but it is sufficiently clear, that the Scepter belonged to *Judah*, and not to *Levi*.

Who govern
it with equal
Power, but are
of different
Orders and
Degrees.

5. To the High-Priest (who ever ought to be of the Family of *Eleazar* and *Phineas*) was adjoined another, as his Second or Deputy out of the Progeny of *Ithamar* the other Son of *Aaron*, to whom were subject the *Gershonites* and *Merarites* in the Ministry of the Tabernacle. And from these two Roots as it were sprung those Four and Twenty (a) called Heads and Fathers of the Priests, amongst whom *David* caused Lots to be cast, that they might by turns serve in the House of the Lord. And as they were subject to the former two Princes or Heads, so had they others (b) subject to them, as well Priests as Levites, whose Service they used in the discharging of their Courses. Their number sometimes failed both by reason of frequent Exile, and the decay of Families; but in the Old Testament they were called (c) Fathers and Heads of the Priests, and in the New Chief Priests or *Apocritici*. Of both sorts we find not only Priests but Levites were Judges appointed and Governors of Cities as well others as their own Forty eight. And many Causes of greatest moment were brought before them alone, or for the most part, as those concerning Leprosie, Jealousie, Secret Homicide, False Witness and the like, in which Matters the People and Magistrates were bound to consult and expect the Sentence of the Priests. But we must not forget that the most Doubtful Intricate and Weighty Matters were referred to the greatest and gravest Council or Sanhedrim, which being to sit by Gods Command at the place where the Ark of the Testimony abode, in the time of King *Jehoshaphat*, consisted of the Levites, Priests, and Heads of the Families of *Israel*, had *Amariah* the High Priest, Prince or Chief in all Matters of the Lord, and *Zebadiah* Prince of the House of *Judah*, chief in the Kings business. This

(a) Chron.

24

(b) Nidm.

12

(c) Ibid.

(d) Mat. 12.

o. 16.

Mark 11. 27. 14

This Sanhedrim thus Constituted in the time of *Jehoshaphat*, a Prince most observant of the Mosaic Law, was but a continuation of that great Council of Seventy Elders whom God Ordained as Assistants to *Moses* in the great Burthen of Government. Now although we shall not deny, that by reason of the peculiar Constitution of the Jewish Commonwealth under the Mosaic Law, no necessary Consequence can be drawn from the diverse degrees of Priests and Levites, to the framing of the very same Policy in the Church of Christ, yet for Preservation of good Order, that the Pastors and Governors of Gods Flock may the better do their Duty, and not be found unworthy of their calling, either in respect of Depravity of Manners, or unsoundness of Opinion, the Wisdom of God that evidently appeareth in the Levitical Policy, is not lightly to be esteemed or rejected. For if in every well constituted Society Order is very necessary; and Confusion, of which God never is Author, is with all Industry to be shunned; we neither ought to inquire for, neither can we find a more excellent or perfect Pattern of Church Government (so far as time, place, and the Condition of Persons will bear) than what by God himself was settled and confirmed in the Church and Commonwealth of the Jews. And although that Government be not thoroughly known, neither is there necessity of being fully conformable to it, by reason of the many and various Differences and Disproportions betwixt that Commonwealth and the Christian Church, spread so far and wide amongst so many and various Nations; yet this is clear, that God would not have that Church governed by all the Priests and Levites qualified with equal Power and Authority, but that he subjected some to others, as well in the Sacred Function as the Civil Government, and that all sate not promiscuously in that great Sanhedrim of the Seventy Elders, but such only were chosen into that Assembly who were eminent for their Virtue, or Nobility of their Extraction. Hence it is evident from the Levitical Discipline, that the Government of the Church by Ministers of unequal and differing Orders and Degrees, is more agreeable to the Wisdom of God revealed in his word, than that which indifferently allows to Pastors equal, or one and the same Authority.

Subordinate
to each other.

6. Whilst our Lord himself was upon Earth, although all Power in Heaven and Earth was given him, yet did he not manifest or challenge it till he was risen from the Dead, but the External Government of the Church he left to others, as not so proper to the Son of God as to Mortal Men. His Kingdom was not of this World, but Spiritual, exercising his Authority over all in the Power and Majesty of the Spirit, protecting and defending his Subjects against all outward and inward Enemies, and carrying on his work notwithstanding all Opposition, in an irresistible, though Secret and Spiritual way. The external Administration of Power, such as was convenient for the Peace, Order, and Decency of his Church, he delegated to those whom he made Leaders of his Flock and Stewards of his Household, upon the removal of his Corporal presence. Those were his Disciples of whom whilst yet he was upon Earth he made two Orders or Ranks, one of Apostles, being Twelve Messengers invested with chiefest Authority; another of Seventy Persons more in number, but with less Power, whom he sent before him to Preach in each City or Town whither he should come. They (not those) were his constant Followers and Domestick Attendants, heard all his Sermons, saw all his Works, being chosen for this purpose to be certain and Eye-witnesses to the World of his Doctrine, Miracles, Afflictions, Death and Resurrection. They and no others were at Table with him at his last Supper, heard the Prayers he made, received his comfortable and encouraging words, and the large Promises he made at parting. To them did he assign the whole World as a Province to Teach and Baptize; and those did he send as Ambassadors *à latere* not only to Preach the Heavenly Truth, and Found Churches throughout the World, but to direct and order in his Name and by his Authority, all the Faithful in all things concerning Faith and Manners; to prescribe Order in Government of his Church, and therein Establish what might be necessary for its Increase, Peace and Unity, for restraining the Rebellious and Refractory, Provision of Faithful Pastors, stopping the Mouths of gossayers, and delivering up to Satan such as were incorrigible in Wickedness and Blasphemy. And for all those things they had most ample Gifts of the Spirit, and were induced with Power from on High.

* Vide
cund. cap. 1.

7. In this manner of chusing Disciples and gathering the first beginnings of his Christian Church, our Saviour seemeth to have respected the Jewish Polity, wherein Twelve Princes by Gods appointment were chosen out of the Tribes, one out of each, and afterwards Seventy Elders were joyned with the rest in Council. By which diversity both of number and degree, a difference appears clearly in the Dignity of Governours, both in the People of God and Christ's Church, and is evident in the promotion of *Matthias*, after the Treason and end of *Judas*, who was one of the Seventy. The Apostles had under them certain Disciples, whom they still took with them as well for ease as Company, and when they had been sufficiently instructed, they partly sent to plant other Churches, when they themselves were called away into other places, sometimes employed in perfecting what was begun, restoring what was decayed, or otherwise as occasion required; And for that they knew by reason of their constant Converse the whole sense and mind of the Apostles, they were appointed (as *Timothy* by *St. Paul*) to Ordain and Govern other Pastors and Teachers, than whom they were therefore more eminent and of greater Dignity in the Church.

8. The Apostles were all of the same Dignity and Power, nor one placed above another as to Authority. Their Lord forbade them all Ambitious Desires, which before his Resurrection they were not free from harping still upon a splendid Temporal Dominion, as their Country-men do at this hour, which the *Messiah* should enjoy. As he checked such Imaginations, and denied them the use of the Temporal Sword, (which as he found he left to the Magistrate,) he was so far from forbidding them the exercise of just Authority over others, that he placed them in Dignity above all others in his Church, neither forbade them to receive any Names or Titles of respect, but ambitiously to seek after and desire them. Neither did he joyn in equal Authority any Presbytery or Society of inferior Pastors for the Government of the Church, much less any Lay-persons, an Invention that bears not the Date of One hundred and fifty years, and never was heard of till of late time in the Church of God, whatever is pretended. The Apostles were furnished with admirable Gifts of the Holy Ghost, but such as were requisite for the laying of such considerable Foundations as those of Christianity; for converting the Incredulous that never had heard of *Christ*, and when they did, would be too apt to stumble at his Sufferings; for strengthening the Faithful, who were but sadly entertained by the unbelieving World; and for furnishing so many Churches newly planted with careful and able Pastors. The Church being settled, there was no necessity of the continuance of such Miraculous Power. The Scripture is sufficient in all Ages to declare the Truth; the Miracles then wrought give it sufficient Testimony; the Authority of that first Commission is still continued by Succession: The Abilities of Pastors do not now appear on a sudden, but ripen with time if they be industrious. Yet those parts of Apostolical Office which lye in Teaching, Baptizing, Administering the Lords Supper, loosing and binding, laying on of Hands in the Ordination of Pastors and Ministers, these still continue in the Church, and so must as long as the Church it self continues. These we may in fewer words distinguish into Doctrine and Discipline, Administration of the Word and Sacraments, and the Power of the Keys and Ordination.

9. The former did belong indifferently to all Pastors and Ministers of the Church, Preaching the Word and Administering the Sacraments, was their general Office and Duty whilst the Apostles yet lived, who reserved Power of the Keys and Ordination to themselves. Such they chose at first for Pastors and Teachers, as were for their Age and Gravity most capable of Reverence and Honour, in which respect they were called *Presbyters* (from which word is derived the French *Presbiter* and our *Priests*) or *Elders*. Afterwards such Young Men as were of special Abilities were admitted, and yet retained the old Name which use had made Familiar. The Apostles themselves are sometimes called *Presbyters* or *Elders*, as (a) *St. Peter* taketh that Title upon him, and those Presbyters from their inspection or oversight are termed *Episcopi* or *Bishops*, those Names being (b) promiscuously used at the first Plantation of Christian Churches, which were governed by all those Presbyters in common under the Apostles. But afterwards, as (c) *St. Hierome* writes, Factions and Parties being made by such as training and Baptizing sought to draw Disciples after them, it was Decried throughout the whole World, that for the removing of Schism and Dissentions, one of those Presbyters should be chosen and set over the rest, and him to whom

the whole Care of the Church should belong, they named (in a peculiar and eminent way) *Episcopus* or *Bishop*. Indeed the Apostles at their first Preaching of the Gospel, might not think it necessary to commit the Government of Churches unto *Bishops*, because the chief Authority of Imposition of Hands, and binding and loosing they would keep in their own Hands; and being by *Christ* himself made Universal Bishops and Overseers; as also because they would not commit to great a Charge to any, before they had had sufficient Experience of their Fidelity, Gravity, Prudence and Learning; and also lest they should seem rather to study the Honour and Preferment of their Disciples than the Conversion of Souls; therefore they suffered the Churches first to make trial of many Governours, from the equality of whom great Disturbance and Confusion arising, and they being called still away into other places by fresh Occasions, were necessarily constrained to set over each Church a Pastor of approved Fidelity, which willingly received him, having by sad Experience learnt what Disturbances Heresies and Schisms the Wickednesses and Discord of Teachers had produced, and how unfit the confused Rule and equal Power of Presbyters was to prevent or remove those Distempers.

10. That those Factions and Dissentions spoken of by *St. Jerome* happened in the time of the Apostles, is evident from the Epistles written by *St. Paul* to the (a) *Corinthians*, (b) *Romans*, (c) *Galatians*, (d) *Philippians*, (e) *Colossians* and (f) *Thessalonians*, and the Writings of (g) others of the Apostles. And *St. Hierome* himself (though thought none of the greatest Friends of Episcopacy) & searcheth witness in that he compareth the Polity of the Christian Church to that of the Jewish, and faith, the Apostolical Traditions were taken from the Old Testament, (h) and what Aaron his Sons and the Levites were in the Temple, that may a *Chief Bishop*, Presbyters and Deacons challenge to themselves; clearly hinting, that as in the Temple amongst Priests, so in the Church of Christ the Apostles made a difference betwixt Bishops and Presbyters; as he doth in another place plainly affirm, that (i) the Safety of the Church hangs on the Dignity of a Chief Priest (or Bishop) to whom, if a free and eminent Power, after all the rest, be not granted, Laesus, as many Schisms a Priests will be made in the Church. Elsewhere, (k) That afterwards one was chosen who should be set over the rest; a remedy was made in Schisms, lest every one drawing to himself, should break the Church of Christ. Now at Alexandria from Mark the Evangelist unto Heracles and Dionysius the Bishops, the Presbyters ever named some one Bishop that was chosen from amongst themselves and placed in an higher degree. Hence it appears plainly, that Episcopacy is of Apostolical Institution, which the several Successions of Bishops in several Sees before the death of *St. John* make evident; so that the Superiority in Bishops, which he faith was brought in rather by the Custom of the Church than Divine Disposition; rather respect such Customs as were afterwards brought in by Cannons (such were, that Presbyters could not Baptize without the Bishops Licence, nor Preach in his presence) at least if the Apostles had no express Command for it, as *St. Paul* (l) distinguisheth betwixt that and his own Opinion and Judgment in the matter of Virgins; yet must we not think (as the Apostle in modesty expretheth himself) that they had the Spirit of Christ, who would not doubtless leave them to a Fallible and Humane one, in a business of such Consequence, as the Government and well ordering of his Church.

11. Such an Officer by the name of *Episcopus* or *Bishop*, was chosen after this manner: When a Bishop was dead, whose Church was furnished with many Presbyters fit to succeed him, the Bishops nearest to him of the same Province meeting together, agreed upon a day for an Election, which day they divulged both to the People and Clergy. At the day appointed both People and Clergy meeting in the Church, as many Bishops as possibly could be present (but without Three nothing could be done) gave their attendance on the Election, and took notice of such as the People and Clergy chose. If all or the greater part of any Sort or Order unanimously pitched upon one Person, he was declared Elect, and a day was named for his Consecration, his Name and the time of his Consecration being affixed to the Doors of the Church, with warning, that if any one would object any thing against the Party to be chosen, they should appear sufficiently furnished for such an Affair at such a time and place. At the second time of their meeting, such Bishops as assembled for Consecration and Imposition of Hands, if after diligent inquiry into the Manners of the Party, they found him such a one as the Apostle had described, they

E

Ordained

Nam qui
procurator de
minori ad ma-
jorem provectus.

Per in po-
rem non habet
imperium.

Vide Bisp.
nam non habet
imperium.

For preven-
tion thereof
Bishops are
made.

Episcopacy
of Apostolical
Institution.

The manner
of choosing or
electing a Bi-
shop.

(a) 1 Pet. 5.

(b) Philip. 1.
Tit. 1. Ad. 20.

(c) Ad Eua-
ngelium & in
Tit.

† Natus ap-
puli avens
pari Conspicuo
paulus erat
& petrus.
Cyprian de uni-
tate Ecclesie.
Clement Regem
celestium acce-
perat, & super
eo Ecclesie
soliditate
arguo fundata
est. Hieronym.
adversus Jovin-
ianum.

Schisms arise
in the Church
by reason of
the Equality of
Presbyters.

(a) 1 Cor. 11.

(b) Rom. 16

(c) Gal. 1.

(d) Phil.

(e) Col. 1.

(f) 1 Thess.

(g) 1 Tim.

(h) 1 Tim.

(i) 1 Tim.

(j) 1 Tim.

(k) 1 Tim.

(l) 1 Tim.

(i) 1 Cor. 7

Cyp. l. 1. sp. 4.

Ordned him Pastor, and gave him a strict Charge in the presence of all the Multitude. If any Crime was objected, and proved against him, they judged him unworthy, and proceeded to the Election of some other whom both the Clergy and People did unanimously design to this Office. The Care of the Ancient Christians in choosing their Pastors was so remarkable to the Heathens themselves, that *Alexander Severus the Roman Emperour* is said by *Lampridius* to imitate it as that of the *Jews* in this manner: For when he would make any Governours of Provinces or Chief Commanders, he published their Names, desiring the People, that if any of them were guilty of any Crime, it might be evidently proved: And he said it was a sad thing that this should not be done in the Provinces which Christians and Jews practiced toward such their Priests as were to be Ordained.

In Alex. Sev.

12. But it happening that in certain places there were very few Clerks, or such as were not fit for such a Calling, in such a case they betook themselves to the Bishop of the Metropolis or Mother City of that Province, and of him they desired either such a Person as they themselves made choice of, or one whom he himself should commend to them. This way of looking after a Bishop was called *Population* as the other *Election*. At their Petition the Metropolitan having advised with that Bishop whose Clerk they chose, and called to him other Bishops (two at least) Examined and Consecrated him in like manner as the former, or some other, if just cause required, of more approved Integrity and Worth. For the restraining of the Factionfulness of the People, and the Ambition of the Clergy, the Bishops of the same Province were commanded to be present, that they might take care lest Corruption, Ambition and Tumult prevailed. And for a curb to those Bishops, lest Hatred and private Favour should disturb or pervert the Work, the Metropolitan was to be made acquainted with the whole Proceeding before they could lay Hands on him: as if any one accused them as far more prone, and not indifferent as to the Parties concerned, it was proper to the Metropolitan to hinder their Attempts, and with the assent of the greater number of Bishops to hinder the Election, if, upon Examination, they saw it requisite. The *Nicene Council*, as to this Matter, Decreed, That a Bishop should be consecrated by all the Bishops of the same Province; at least, that Three should meet together and have the consent of the rest expressed by Letters before they should lay Hands on him. And that if any were consecrated without the knowledge and Consent of the Metropolitan, he ought not to be owned as Bishop, and that upon dissent the Matter was to be decided by the major part.

Cann. 4. & 6.

13. From this most Antient of all General Councils, we must observe, that at that time there was a difference in Degree and Power amongst Bishops themselves, that an Inspection was given to some one over several others, that he was called *Metropolitan*, and the place of his Authority and Jurisdiction his *Province*: The *Metropolitan* was so named from the *Metropolis* or *Mother City*, so called either in respect of Colonies sent abroad, which owned her as their Mother, or by reason of Power and Preheminence over and above the adjoining Cities. This difference and relation being betwixt such places long before the beginnings of the Christian Church, when it came to be Established, it found a necessity of modelling its Government according to the Secular Form. For long before Princes gave their Names to the Christian Profession, when the Church had no other means of distinguishing right from wrong, and Truth from Falshood, but only by Synods, or the Meetings of Religious and Prudent Pastors, there being no Christian Magistrate, but the Swords being employed not for, but against the Faithful in many exquisite Persecutions; such Meetings were thought most convenient to be called by the Bishops of such Principal Cities or Metropolises, and for that some must necessarily preside in them as Moderators and Governours, they were thought most fit so to do, and by ancient Councils are called *Metropolitans*, as also *Archbishops*. After the Conversion of *Constantine*, when Princes never had owned and embraced the formerly disputed and persecuted Name of Christians, they began to increase the number of Synods, and confirmed not only the Decrees of General Councils, but what was also resolved on in Provincial Meetings, as wholesome Remedies against Disorders both of Church and State. And as by their Edicts, which had the Power of Laws, they referred Ecclesiastical Causes to Ecclesiastical Judges; so did they take Care, that according to the Canons, those *Metropolitans* should twice in a Year assemble the Bishops of their respective Provinces, and

and in those Synods determine such Differences and Contests as had happened in Matters of Religion. In process of time business growing every day more large and intricate, and Bishops neither being able to defray the Charges of so frequent and great Journeys, nor being well spared from their Sees, there was necessity of reducing Provincial Synods to one yearly Meeting, and in the mean time of committing the Cognizance of such Matters as would bear no delay, would prove too tedious for the small time allowed to their meeting, to the Metropolitan of that Province where they arose.

The Original
of Constantin-
tant.

14. Some think the Original of *Metropolitans* of as high a Date as the time of *Timothy* and *Titus*. That it was most Ancient, appears from the Canons as well of the first *Nicene*, as other General Councils which speak of those kind of Governours, not as lately set up, but as ordinary Officers of the Church, and take care (a) every *Metropolitan City* retain its ancient Dignity. And such was the Government of the Church when persecuted: After that *Constantine* had vailed the Fables and Eagle of the Empire to the Cross, and had quite changed the ancient Form of Subordinate Majestacy, the Form of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction was also much altered: as well in the changing of Cities for Metropolitan Power, as erecting of new sorts of Governours. The East felt the greatest force of this alteration, (though the extravagance of the Emperours especially lay their *Roman Emulators*;) but the West also found a necessity, though not in so large a measure, of conforming the Ecclesiastical way of Administration to that of the Civil. For another Form of Provinces being made, and other Cities Erected into Metropolis, to the Bishop of those newly uplifted Cities was given the Title of *Metropolitans*, yet had they but the meer Title and place; no Metropolitical Authority or Jurisdiction, preceding their Colleagues of their several Provinces, and placed next to the *Metropolitans*, but subject to them as the rest of their Fellow Bishops. The Emperours might at their pleasure divide and multiply Provinces, which if the Bishops indeavoured to do, they incurred the pain of Deposition.

(a) *Ti. apud
de ecclesia
Sacrosancti,
Can. 6.
Ti. inter-
compositi
in Oris de
quali* Can. 7Constantine
12. & 17. Con-
stiti Chalced.The place of
his Residence.

15. It was considered that the Apostles and their Successors had delineated and assigned the Limits and Borders of Church Government, according to the Dignity and Order of the several Cities, and that the reason was now the same, if possibly an Alteration without great Inconvenience could be obtained; that the lesser Cities are dependent upon the greater, to which is daily great Confluence upon the account of Traffick and publick Business; and much intercourse necessarily being betwixt the several Bishopricks and Parishes and Metropolitan Cities, it necessarily must follow, that there it is most convenient the *Metropolitan* should have his See, where was the *Metropolis* for Civil Matters, that the several inferior Officers of his Province might have the more easie access to his Person: the force of which Consequence appears manifestly in this, that where Custom or a certain Veneration of particular Places or Persons has confined the *Metropolitan* See to some private City in the Province, yet is the Prelate necessitated to reside for the most part in the Civil *Metropolis*. To those Reasons as are most weighty, may be added that Honour and Esteem that all Christians have to the Person and Memory of *Constantine*. If the Apostles and Apostolical Persons imitated in their Church Policy the Method and Order of Heathen Persecutors, much more did it seem fitting and convenient to the Bishops, to follow the pattern of so Pious and deserving a Prince.

16. Before this time therefore Bishops being set over several Cities, and *Metropolitans*, or *Archbishops* over Provinces: When as the Civil Dioceses were appointed, whereof each contained several Provinces, it was thought fit that over every Diocese should also one Bishop be appointed to govern the *Archbishops*, as the *Archbishops* did the Bishops. Where the *Presidents*, *Consulares*, and *Correctores* were, there sate the *Metropolitans*. And when the *Vicarii* were brought up and set over the Governours of Provinces, *Primates* were constituted in the Church to oversee *Metropolitans* and other inferior Officers. The *Vicarius* was over several Provinces, so was the *Primate*; and the *Vicars* Charge was called *Diocesis*, so was that of a *Primate*. From the *Consulares* and *Presidents* of Provinces, there lay Appeal to the *Vicari*, so did there to the *Primates* from the *Metropolitans* or *Exarchs*. From the Sentence of *Vicars* lay Appeal to the *Præsides* *Prætorii*; and so from the *Primates* and *Exarchs* to the *Patriarchs* hereafter to be spoken of. But that in imitation of the *Vicari*, the Office and Dignity of *Primates* was Instituted, seemeth to some most demonstrable from this, that before the time of

Constantine
12. & 17. Con-
stiti Chalced.Of Population
or calling for a
Bishop.A difference
in Degree and
Power amongst
Bishops.The Chief
called Metropo-
litan who pre-
sides over the
rest in Church
Matters.Primates
Superior to
Archbishops or
Metropolitans.

Constantine there are no Testimonies nor Footsteps of any Jurisdiction of those *Vicars*, neither in Ecclesiastical Writers any mention of *Primates, Enarchs or Dioceses* in this Sense: All Histories, Councils, that of *Nice* give only Priority of place to the Bishops of *Rome; Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem* own no Bishops above *Metropolitans*, no *Dioceses* above *Provinces*, no *Diocesan Councils* above *Provincial*. But presently upon the Institution of the *Vicars*, and a distinction of their *Dioceses* from *Provinces*, there is most frequent mention made of *Enarchs, Primates, Dioceses, and Diocesan Councils* in Ecclesiastical Authors; so that the first *Constantinopolitan Council* speaks of them as already made and confirmed. These *Primates* were called *Primates Patriarchales*, but in a strict Sense are not to be confounded with *Patriarchs*.

17. The *Jews* had their *Patriarchs*, to whom were subject all the Synagogues in the World, which fo far owned their subjection, that they paid them Tribute, as appears from the (a) Code of *Theodosius*. This Tribute was called (b) *Apollis*, and such as gathered it *Apollis*, whose Office it was to execute the Commands of these *Patriarchs*, the Original of whom is to be derived no higher than the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the Universal Captivity of that Nation. The *Monanists* it seems, in imitation of them, had also their *Patriarch*, as we learn from (c) *St. Jerome*, as some (d) observe from *Hierodotus*, that the *Heathen Egyptians* called their Chief Priest by that Name, of whom is to be understood that Saying of (e) *Hadrian* in *Vopiscus*, and neither of a Christian *Patriarch* nor the Jewish, as some would have it. The Christian was of much a later Date, though the Romanists from some forged Writings will needs have them Infructed and Seated by the Prince of the *Apollis*. If they speak by way of Anticipation, and will contend that such Sees as were first appointed by the *Apollis*, came to be afterwards *Patriarchal*; we shall not at all contend, that the *Patriarchal* Sees (though not as *Patriarchal*) were by *Apollistical* appointment. But the *Patriarchs* themselves were of a later Date than the first *Nicene* Council, no mention being made of them by any Christian Writer of Credit, till about or after the Death of *Constantine*. As for the Epistles of *Anacletus* Bishop of *Rome*, from whom the Cardinal Annalist, and others, would prove the Series of the first three *Patriarchal* Sees, and the Supremacy of the *Roman*; it and all the rest of the Epistles of the old Popes are Spurious, being unknown to the World before the Ninth Century, and then such were, as they are vanted out of *Spain* into *Europe*, as (f) many have sufficiently evinced. Of as small Credit are the Councils held under them: And the Sixth Cannon of the *Nicene* Council, though it takes care for the Power and Precedence of those Bishops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, conforming them to him of *Rome*; yet doth it not speak of them under the Name and Title of *Patriarchs*, but as *Metropolitans* or *Primates*.

In Imitation of the *Professio Prætorie*.

18. *Patriarchs* therefore seem to have been so named and obeyed, in Imitation of the *Professio Prætorie*, though there be no full conformity as to their number, there being at first but Three of them, and Four of the later. The first Three were the Metropolitans of *Rome*, *Antioch* and *Alexandria*, the precise time of whose Promotion is not known. Afterwards the Metropolitan of *Constantinople* by the Decrees of the Councils of *Constantinople* and *Chalcedon* obtained that Dignity as most congruous to that Imperial Seat, which had the Title and (a) Privileges of *New Rome*. After this the Bishop of *Jerusalem* was dignified with the same Title, who had anciently been graced with particular Respect and Honour, yet so that the Bishop of *Cæsarea* (c) unwilling were the Ancient Fathers to change the Customs of the Church) retained all Rights and Privileges of Metropolitan, which the *Nicene* Council also confirmed. But at length Favour prevailed for this most Ancient Church, which as a (b) Romanist observes, is styled by *Theodore*, *Mother of all Churches*, and by *Justin* the Emperor, *Mother of the Christian Name and Professors*; upon this account, that from Her all other Churches were diffused throughout the World. And after many endeavours used, this Honour was obtained for her, as we read in the Acts of the Council of *Chalcedon*, notwithstanding the violent resistance of *Leo* the Great, Bishop of *Rome*, who, as one says, alluding to the Speech of *Lysander*, and that Pope Name, to the Lyons skin sewed the Foxes, and omitted nothing that might hinder the Promotion of those two Sees; inasmuch that some grounding their Opinion on a place in *Gulielmus Tyrius*, have thought that Dignity was not Established and Confirmed to *Jerusalem* before the Fifth Council in the time of *Justinian*.

Five in all.

19. Such was the Polity of the Ancient Church, conformable as to place and Dignity with that of the State, then which a more Commodious could not be invented, both for preserving Peace, and safe to every Bishop his proper Jurisdiction. But we shall see how the Partition of Diocesses and Provinces agreed.

The Church and State alike in its Government.

The Eastern Division of the Church.

As the *Roman Empire* was divided into two general Parts or Worlds (fo *(a)*) sometimes they stiled them) so was the Church distinguished generally into Eastern and Western. As in the East there were Seven Diocesses, and Six in the West, besides the *Praefecture of Rome*, in like manner the Church had of old its Fourteen Diocesses. Those of Eastern both Church and Empire were, first *Egypt*, the Provinces whereof, as also those of *Libya*, *Thebais* and *Pentapolis*, were subject to the Patriarch of *Alexandria*. 2. The East more particularly fo called, subject to the Patriarch of *Antioch*. 3. *Asiana*, whose Provinces belonged first to the Primate of *Ephesus*, afterward to the *Constantinopolitan* Patriarch. 4. *Pontica* the Metropolis whereof was *Caesarea*. 5. *Thracia*, which with its Provinces *Greece*, *Asia*, and others, were under the Inspection anciently of the Bishop of *Theſſalonica* as Primate of the Diocess, afterward subject to the Patriarch of *Constantinple*. 6. *Macedonia*. 7. *Dacia*.

20. In the West we also found Seven Dioceses. Hereof the first was the *Roman*, which contained the * *Suburbicarian Provinces*, subject in Civil Matters to the *Emperours Vicar*, in Ecclesiastical to the *Roman Patriarch*, and are in anywise to be distinguished from the Provinces of *Italy*, and were Ten in number: Three Islands, *Sicily, Corfica and Sardinia*, with Seven others in that Tract of *Italy* lying on the East and South, as 4. *Campania*, 5. *Tufcia*, 6. *Picenum Suburbicarium*, 7. *Apulia and Calabria*, 8. *Brutium*, 9. *Sannium*, and 10. *Valeria*, all which were subject to the *Roman Patriarch*, and Constituted his proper and peculiar Dioceses, and extended no farther Westward than the River *Magra*, the limit of *Etruria*, and that called *Afius* (but *Efys* by *Pliny* and *Blondus*) not far from *Ancona*, which manifestly appears in that one part of *Picenum* is called *Picenum Suburbicarium*, and the other *Annonarium*; so that in that Country the *Suburbicarian Provinces* were terminated. The Second Dioceses of the West, was the *Italian*, containing Seven other Provinces of *Italy*, viz. *Venetia* with *Aftria*, *Amelia*, *Liguria*, *Flaminia* with *Picenum Annonarium*, and *Rhætia Secunda*, all which in Civil things obeyed their Vicars, and in Ecclesiastical the Metropolitan of *Milaine*; in which respect this City is called by *St. Athanasius* the Metropolis of *Italy*, as *Rome* of the *Roman Jurisdiction*. The Third Dioceses, the *African*, wherein sometime were numbered more than Two hundred Bishops and several Metropolitans, all which with their Provinces, were subject to the Bishop of *Carthage* as their Primate. The Fourth *Ilyrium*, which formerly had its Primate and Provinces, but was afterwards subjected to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*. The Fifth *Gall*, which once owned *Augusta Treverorum* or *Triers* for its Metropolis, and the Bishop of *Triers* for its Primate, but thence transferred the Dignity to *Arles*. The Sixth *Spain*, the Metropolis whereof *Hispalis* seems first to have been, but afterwards, together with the Royal Seat, the Dignity was transferred to *Toledo*. The Seventh *Britains*, in the Plural number also, the Metropolis of which was anciently *Tork* as it is conjectured, where the Emperours, when in this Country, resided. But many agreed, this Honour was conferred on *Canterbury*, the Bishop whereof in Prime, or (to use the words of (a) *Malmesbury*, and the Gloss (b) of the Canon Law) *Patriarch* of the whole Dioceses; and in a soter Expression *alterius orbis Papa*, Pope of another World. Thus was anciently the Church divided into Dioceses, according to the Form of the Empire, much altered in following Ages by Emperours and Councils, as we may see hereafter, especially by the *Roman Patriarch* after his Incroachment and Usurpation; so that the Marks of those ancient Dioceses are hardly to be found out, or the Footsteps of their *Patriarchs* and *Primates* so easily discovered.

21. Thus we fee the Church its Polity, in reference to the Division of Place under their feveral forts of Prelates. Now muſt we conſider their Power and fo defend to inferior Miniſters. The *Patriarchs* Power was great in the Creation of *Metropolitans* and *Biſhops*. From *Metropolitans* Appeal lay to himſelf Tribunal; he appointed Judges, and took cognizance of their Cauſes, called Synods of his Dioceſes, and decided other great and weighty Affairs. Of all theſe Five the *Roman*, becauſe of the Quality and Antiquity of the City, was firſt in Order, but in Dignity and Jurifdiction Collateral, not Superior. For the *Nicene* Council gives as much Power and Authority to him of *Alexandria* as

(a) *Conspirant
geniis fratribus
communibus ab
Claud. Geniis
commercia
mundi. Vide
Berterium &
Uilherpum con-
tra Spalatensem
Morinem in
Exercitationib.*

* Nec obscuratur
differentia a
Morino inter
urbicarias &
Suburbicarias
allegata.

(a) *In Prolog de gestis Angl. Pontif.*
(b) *Cap. clero Distinct.* 21,

ES Consule Be
terium ubi
suprà.
Et Marinus

as will be seen hereafter ; seeing there were other *Primates* besides the five *Patriarchs*, who owed some sort of obedience to them receiving , and performing their orders in assembling Councils and other business. And as these *Primates* were distinguished from *Patriarchs*, properly so called, so also constituted a peculiar Degree and Dignity above other *Metropolitans* ; notwithstanding what some Object from an Epistle of Pope Boniface, that two Provinces could not be subject to one and the same Person : For not to make use of what might be objected against these Epistles ; this expression may well be admitted in this sense, that no one Person could so preside over two Provinces, as to exercise the Function of a *Metropolitan* in any other than his own Province : For when *Primates* were ordained any where, care was taken to preserve the Rights of *Metropolitans* inviolate, as appears from several examples. But though *Presidents* should fail in this Case, yet the nature of the thing does evidently demonstrate it : For if the *Primate* should exercise the office proper to a *Metropolitan*, what need were there of a *Metropolitan* ? if a *Metropolitan* that of a *Bishop* in his Province, what need were there of a *Bishop* ? Therefore the *Bishop* his *Paræcia* is subject to him in a certain and peculiar manner , wherein it is not subject to a *Metropolitan* : The Cases of Visitation, Appeal, and others Canonical excepted, otherwise there would be *Bishops*, but all *Bishops*, Vicars, or Vicegerents only of *Metropolitans* ; but as *St. Cyprian* saith, there is one *Bishoprick*, whereof all are partakers in *Solidum* : So is a Province in so peculiar a manner, subject to a *Metropolitan*, as not to a *Primate*, except in Cases expressed in Law ; and whatsoever a *Metropolitan* may do in his Province, a *Primate* may not ; else there would be no *Metropolitans*, but all Vicegerents of *Primates*. And such is the case of a *Patriarch*, in reference to that of *Primates* ; the several Rights *Patriarchal*, *Exarchial*, *Metropolitan* and *Episcopal* being distinct and several, whereof none could be justly invaded : The *Patriarch* in his own *Paræcia* exercise *Episcopal* jurisdiction ; visited those under him, assigned them Governours, and did other matters too long to be recited : In his own Province he had *Metropolitan* jurisdiction, not *Episcopal* ; in his *Diocesis* *Exarchial* or that of a *Primate*, not *Metropolitan* nor *Episcopal* ; in his *Patriarchate*, he had *Patriarchal*, not *Exarchial*, *Metropolitan* or *Episcopal*.

27. To *Primates* therefore first, this is observed to have been due as a Privilege to approve and confirm *Bishops* and *Metropolitans* Canonically Elected. Secondly, They examined and passed judgment on such matters as had been determined and judged in Provincial Synods. For from Provincial Synods, appeal lay to *Primates* ; and Thirdly, To them belonged the Celebration of *Diocesan* Councils, summoned out of several Provinces, *Primates* having Authority, when they judged it convenient to make such Assemblies. Fourthly, They were appointed as Watch-men in so many Watch-Towers ; and Overseers in the Name of the *Patriarch*, to inquire and observe, whether Ecclesiastical Discipline was diligently observed ; and affording, an helping and healing hand where it was wanted. Inasmuch, that they had not only power of calling Synods of several Provinces, but in urgent Affairs, to send for *Bishops* out of divers Provinces, and with them to debate and settle Matters ; which was given to the *Bishop of Arles*, by ancient custom in the days of *Gregory the Great*, who defines twelve to be a complete number of such Assistants. Fifthly, They gave Certificates of Letters, commendatory to all Clerks, *Metropolitans* and *Bishops*, travelling out of their *Diocesis* ; by virtue whereof they might be received into Communion with other Churches : That those things were always and universally true cannot be said, but often or for the most part, and never just except the Authority of Princes was therein duly considered ; who, besides their undoubted right of being nursing Fathers to the Church, are owned by those * that would rather place that honour in the *Bishop of Rome*, as Author of new Sees in the time even of *Justinian*.

28. It appears from the Preface to (a) one of the Emperours Constitutions, that this Power then resided in Princes, to change and make new Sees of *Metropolitans*, the Authority of whom, were next to consider : of *Metropolitans* there were two sorts, in latter times, one, which was subject to the *Primate*, and another that acknowledged no Subjection ; such those Arch-Bishops accounted themselves, that were not subject to any *Primate*. And such were all the *Metropolitans* of *Africa*, who were called *Primates*, but never *Exarchs* ; as (b) one observes, as if this name was only proper to the *Primates* of *Dioceses* (not of Provinces) such as the *Bishop of Carthage*, who by (c) *Leo* the Ninth, is filed *Maximus Africae* *Metropolitanus*, the greatest *Metropolitan* of *Africa* : And yet (d) *Justinian* glories that he had set that *Bishop* over all *Africa*, and the same Person observes, that

he rather restored him to his Dignity, after the *Vandals* were expelled that Country, than bestowed any new honour on that See ; so that if the other *Bishops* were subject to him, they must be subject to him not as a *Patriarch*, but a *Primate*, and therefore could not properly and strictly be filed *Primates* themselves : However, if they owed no subjection to *Primates*, their Power though not their Dignity, was suitable to theirs. If under their inspection their jurisdiction was subordinate to theirs, as that of the *Primates* to the *Patriarchs* in matters of Synods, Appeals, and other matters, lyable to the cognizance of Superiours ; they presiding in the manner and Governing those Arch-Bishops and *Bishops*, that were within the limits of their *Metropolitan* jurisdiction.

29. For in the *Greek* or *Eastern* Church, it's manifest that for some time there was a distinction betwixt *Metropolitans* and Arch-Bishops, who constituted a peculiar Rank or Order betwixt them and *Bishops*. And for that time the Arch-Bishop was within the jurisdiction of the *Metropolitan* : At length those Arch-Bishops were exempted from their power, and ordained by the *Patriarch*, as appears from *Balsamin* and the *Notitia* of *Metropolitans* and Arch-Bishops subject to the *Constantinopolitan* *Patriarch*, to whom *Innocent the Third* *Bishop of Rome*, after *Constantinople* was subjected to the *Latins* willingly ascribes that Office. But excepting this case of the *Greeks*, Arch-Bishops were the same with *Metropolitans*, having the same power of Ordination, assembling Synods, and receiving Appeals within their respective Provinces, if in Privilege and Authority they were really such ; for we find that in the East towards the decay of the Empire, there were some called Arch-Bishops, who had no jurisdiction over other *Bishops*, merely titular, and so named only because they had honour and precedence before their fellow *Bishops* of the same Province.

30. The Power, Office, and Authority of a *Bishop* (wherein all those sorts agree) being in power and jurisdiction, not in order distinct from one another) is most weighty and considerable, most controverted, and of late impugned. At first the Presbyters as we said under the Apostles in common care and Council Governed the Church ; but by degrees necessity of Peace and Order brought the Government upon one mans shoulders, though supported by the assistance of others ; for what *St. (a) Cyprian* saith of after times, may well be applied to the most Primitive, that thence *Heresies* and *Schisms* arose, because *Gods Priests* was not obeyed, and some one was not thought of, who for a time should be Judge of the Church, in the room of *Christ* ; by which words he means not the *Bishop of Rome*, as some vainly imagine but himself.

31. The most certain note of difference betwixt *Bishops* and Presbyters, this became, that in every City were several or many Presbyters, but only one *Bishop*, except any by force intruded and made a *Schism*, or the *Bishop* by reason of Sickness or Age, was necessitated to have an assistant ; who yet in his preience was of no Authority. Another note and a part of his power was imposition of hands upon *Bishops* and Presbyters, called Consecration and Ordination, which (b) *St. Jerome*, otherwise thought no friend, makes peculiar to him in the most Primitive times, although in his own, the *Canons* had given much more authority to a *Bishop*, in this duty, the Presbyters present (at the Ordination of a Presbyter) as appeareth from the Fourth *Cartaginian* Council, were to lay their hands also on the Head of the Ordained, whilst the *Bishop* held his thereon, and blessed the Party, rather in testimony of their consent, than as partakers in the Office of Consecration, which the Church believed so proper to *Bishops*, that Presbyters of themselves could not perform, and therefore (c) declare such as was performed by them as null, nay although the (d) *Bishop* imposed his hands because a Presbyter read the words of Consecration ; Sometimes it happened that a *Bishop* had (e) but one Presbyter under him, who might for just cause be removed elsewhere, yet that this *Bishop* having not a Presbyter left, might ordain others if he would, and if he could make none of his own, might have elsewhere some to ordain according to the number he had lost : Whereby it appears that a *Bishop* though he had not a Presbyter at all to Celebrate the Office of Ordination with him, might alone by himself either ordain his own Clerks, or those procured from other places : All Laws Ecclesiastical and Civil, which have been made against the Corruptions in ordaining Priests and Deacons, speak in the singular number of one, not in the plural of many ; as pointing at the *Bishop* as the Agent, who if any offence against the *Canons* was committed, was ever punished ; not the

Conful.
Mauritius Exer.
21. & 24. 1.1.

Titular *Metropolitans*

The Power,
Office and Au-
thority of *Bis-*
hops in the
Church.

Item. iiii.

Patriarchal, *Exarchial*, *Metropolitan* and *Episcopal* Jurisdiction distinct.

The Privilege and power of *Primates* in the Church.

The Authority of *Metropolitans*.

Two Sorts of them.

* *Filius ex*
Demetrio *Ch-*
matters *Bal-*
minus & *alii*
l. de sac. Epil.
author. G. 7.
author. G. 7.

11. Novell.

(b) *Nestorius*
Epist. Dio-
scor. 1.
(c) *Epist. 4.*
Novell.
11.

Chalced. conc.
con. 12. vide
Motimur p. 277.
& 217. *Noti-*
terium *pist.*
diatrib. 2. c. 3.

(a) *Lik. 1.*

(b) *del Exa-*
grium *Quid-*
cis *excep-*
Ordinatione
Episcopos, *quod*
Presbyter *non*
fuit.

(c) *Athen.*
Apol. 1. in 712.
Presb. Maris *ad*
Canon & *Phi-*
log.

(d) *Concil.*
Nicæna, *Can. 4.*
(e) *Vide*
Concil. Affri-
can. c. 56. &
Carthag. 3. c.
45.

Presbyters who were not parties, but only Accessories or Witnesses to the Principal.

32. From the end of their Institution (which was to prevent Schisms, and establish Power and Peace in the Church) we may well gather, that besides the power of Ordination, they had the other Privileges (and Tasks) by St. Paul conferred on Timothy and Titus, viz. Of examining, reproving and removing such Presbyters as were guilty of unfound Doctrine, and corrupt Manners; which were to continue till the coming of Christ, not ending with those two, and therefore if belonging to any as their Successors, certainly to Bishops, who presiding in their several Churches, had Pastoral and Fatherly Power over both People and Presbyters under them, according to their Office: They had and have the Authority of the (a) Apostles in the Church, to bind and loose, else how could they punish and Constrain, and without punishment no awe, and without awe, none can preserve Peace and Order. Where they could not be themselves present, to Preach and Administer the Holy Sacraments, they provided for such places, fit and convenient Pastors, that they might be Rightly and Christianly instructed; took care left any Heresies, Errors or Diffentions crept up amongst them; afforded them their Council in doubtful matters, their assistance in difficult, and without troubling the whole Province, put an end to their private Controversies and Contentions, excellent effects of Pastoral Care and Vigilancy. Besides those things that were connative with their Office, succeeding Ages for the same reasons thought fit to enlarge the Bounds of their Power and Privileges; that all things might be done in Peace, Decency and in Order. Hence came it that by provision of Canons and Custom of the Church, they had many other Prerogatives; as Reconciliation of Penitents, Confirmation and Imposition of hands on the Baptized, Dedication of Churches and the like: And so great was the power intrusted with them, that (b) no Presbyter could baptize without the Bishops License, nor Preach if he were present, in some places.

33. Nay, as soon as Ecclesiastical Matters came to some Form, Regulation and Order, and the Government by Bishops Priests and Deacons established: Bishops within their own Dioceses had the sole power of Holy Functions, and (although at the first beginning of Christianity, most things might be common to Presbyters and Bishops) Priests and Deacons might be added to them, to assist them, and be employed according to occasion, and their Abilities by their oversight and discretion; so that a Priest might not Baptize nor Administer the Holy Communion, nor Teach nor interpret the Scriptures; *de loco Superiore Ecclesia*, as St. Augustine calls it, or *de Cathedra*, as St. Ambrose, as a *Didaskalos*, or a Doctor (for so they were then called, that did it either of their own Authority as Bishops, or was allowed it as Priests, according to the Preaching now in use) without peculiar allowance of the Bishop of that Diocese. In many places Priests were not allowed to do it; it was not then thought to belong to them, but the task of the Bishop alone, because he in his Office representing more immediately Christ himself, was looked upon as him from whom Holy Offices were derived: Which made him so absolute in his Dioceses, that it was accounted great Usurpation for any Man to challenge any power in Spirituals (as such) but under him, and by his deputation. By reason also of the insufficiency of every Priest, for such an employment, as Preaching or Teaching by way of Authority (such as our Pulpit-preaching) which gave them the Title of *Didaskalos*, or Doctors as witnesseth (a) St. Chrysostome, who tells us, that to preach the Gospel of Christ (in this manner) *it's well if one or two may be found that are fit: But to baptize, any man that is a Priest, and therefore, faith he to this day we commit Baptizing* (which he only mentions, though much more did belong to a Priest, because St. Paul only mentions it in the place he explains) *to the weaker, but the business of Preaching or Teaching to them that are more Learned or Wise.* And Balsamon upon the Canons affirms that to teach the People (in this manner) was granted unto Bishops alone, that to teach the People of God, and interpret divine Decrees, was granted by the grace of the holy Spirit unto the Bishops only, and to them that are permitted and Authorized by them.

34. Both by Socumen and Socrates, we are assured that in Alexandria, the Bishops only did Preach or Teach the People in this manner; and in the numerous African Churches, as witness both St. Jerome and St. Augustine, till Valerius his time (by whom Augustine was consecrated) Priests were not allowed to preach; this

this Office being accounted one of the Bishop his peculiar privileges) at least not in the presence of their Diocesan: Nay, so strict was the Ancient times in preserving the absoluteness of a Bishop in his Dioceses, that by some Canons such Bishop was punished with Deposition, as presumed to preach in another Diocese, without Licence first obtained, much less could any Priest belonging to any other Bishop do it, who by the Canonical Laws, could not exercise his Function or Priesthood without approbation, to which were required Letters Commendatory from his Prelate; in those times Bishops whether at home or abroad, if no lawful impediment (as Age, indisposition of body, urgent occasions, public business (strong enough to procure Dispensation) did hinder, thought themselves bound to preach every Sunday, and by some Canons of Councils in some places were bound so to do; which Custom was much followed in the days of our Famous Queen Elizabeth, and especially by that (a) Jewel of Salisbury (one of the greatest Divines, and most pious Bishop that ever lived) who to the intreaties of his Friends, advising him to preach short and more seldom, that he might preach long, was wont to oppose that saying of (b) Peshaphan altered and fitted to his own office, *Oportet Episcopum Concionantem mori.*

35. But as Bishops, their proper work seemeth to be Government rather than preaching, and so much the Etymology of their name hinteth to us. Indeed being the Ministers of Christ in an especial manner, their office includes all universal Duties; which as the state of the Church requireth according to its necessities, are to be discharged by them, so that in times of Ignorance they ought to preach, and other whiles as others Comfort, behave themselves in their general practice, not only acting themselves, but overseeing also others; directing and ruling Priests in their Ecclesiastical Functions: By which Acts they are chiefly distinguished from inferior Ministers. Now besides these *Episcopi* or Bishops, there were *Chorepiscopi*, so called from the Country or Villages which they Governed. Their original is by some fetcht from Apostolical Institution, as if they were made as Successors to the Seventy Disciples, as Bishops are to the Apostles; but it's uncertain both what time they began, and when precisely they came to their period. *Gratian* cites (a) Pope Damasus telling the Bishops of Africa, that they were then forbidden throughout the World; but his Successor, Nicolas writes an Epistle to Husbaldus as *Chorepiscopus*, so that Sormandis (b) the Jesuit with reason affirms both the Epistles of Damasus and Leo the first, concerning these *Chorepiscopi* to be spurious, and from Pope Nicolas in his Epistle to Radulphus quotes those words in imitation of the Seventy, *Chorepiscopi were ordained, concerning whom, who doubt but they had the Offices of Bishops: Gratian assigns this difference betwixt them and Bishops, that Bishops could not be ordained but in Cities, but they in Villages; Bishops granted Letters called *Formatæ* or *Dimissoriæ* (by which one was exempted from the jurisdiction of his Bishop, which were wont to be given with great Solemnity) the *Chorepiscopi* could only grant Letters Commendatory (called also *pacificæ*, granted to Clerks travelling, whereby they were commended, that they might quietly execute their Office in other Dioceses) although the Gloss denies they could grant them, and makes them only proper to the Bishops, who also had the right of Consecration, whereas the *Chorepiscopi* could only confer the lesser orders. That pretended Epistle of Leo, reckons up Ten several things which belong to the Office of Bishops, the *Chorepiscopi* were not to meddle with. (c) *Filelacus* tells us that, a Bishop being ordained by Heretics, if afterward he became Catholic, was made *Chorepiscopus*: But those sorts of Priests which we may call puny Bishops (being betwixt a Bishop and a Presbyter) grew out of use by degrees, and Rural (d) Deans came in their room (as it's said) but with a more restrained power.*

36. The next in the order of this Hierarchy, was the Presbyter or Priest, who by direction and under the inspection of the Bishop, Celebrated Divine Service, Administered the Sacraments, and preached Gods Word; of all those the *Paragon*, Parson or Parish Priest, is most considerable. The rank of *Curates* (the same with our Parsons, in French called *Curés*, faith Gerson, (a) is the next in order to that of Bishops; it's manifest, in that the same Hierarchical duties are incumbent upon them as upon the other, although not in so excellent a degree: For it's their duty to Purify those committed to their charge by conviction and reproof, to illuminate them by Teaching and Preaching, and to administer the Sacraments; and they are bound, if occasion be, as well as Bishops, to lay down their life for their

Sheep

Sheep; so that when Christ sent abroad the Seventy Disciples, to whom succed Curates, both according to the opinion of Divines and Lawyers, he committed in effect the same Charge to them as he did to the Apostles. Elsewhere (b) he writeth that this rank of Curates was figured in the old Law by the Levites, that it was Instituted by Christ and his Apostles in the very beginning of the Church, which Institution became more evident by the Declarations of Popes, and as well General as Particular Councils. So doth Gerfon describe this sort of Ecclesiastical Ministers, and without any Partiality, although being Chancellor of the University of Paris, he was also Curé or Parish Priest of St. John in Grave in the same City, as his Learned Country-man Fileacus (c) engageth himself to evince.

37. He describes our *Paræcus* or Parish-Priest, to be one assigned to some certain Churches, as having the oversight of a People, in behalf of which he officiates, which he is obliged to teach, and to administer the Holy Sacraments, and who for so doing ought to be maintained by the Offerings of those that are committed to his charge. Concerning their Original, he supposes certain Priests to have been

their Original. Ordained at first by *St. Peter*, as the number of the Faithful increased in *Rome*, and from the Pontifical History of Pope *Damasus*, endeavour to prove that they were reduced to a certain number by *Clerus*, and he Profecutes their History as well to other places as *Rome*, proving that in most antient times, Parishes in many Countries were Established. Here let our Reader take notice of the several sorts of Names by which this Priest is called. Sometimes *Paræus* and *Parechus*, sometimes he is said to be a *Presbyter*, Ordained or Infigured in a Parish or Church, for by the Sixth Canon of the First Council of *Chalcedon*, no Priest is to be Ordained, but to some certain Place or Church, which Law was indeed of force in the most Primitive times. At *Rome* is being sometimes requisite to have several Priests in one Church, over them all one was fer, who was therefore called *Presbyter Cardinalis* or *Principal Priest*, which Title was not confined to the City, but given also to other Priests, whose

Their several charge lay in the Country. Sometime he is called *Presbyter* or *Priest* simply without any addition; other whiles he is understood by the word *Sacerdos*, sometimes tiled *Rector Ecclesię*, *Proprius Presbyter*, *Presbyter Parochianus*, *Presbyter Plebs*, and *Plebanns*, *Presbyter Parochitanus* and *Parrochialis*, *Clericus Paroecialis*, *Clericus Localis*. And, as in Councils he is distinguished by the name of *Presbyter* not feldom, as being more truly so than others under him, so he is called simply *Clericus*, as Principal or above other Clerks. In more late times we

meat with the names of *Curio* and *Curatus*, not derived from the ancient *Roman Curiones*, as some have imagined, seeing it was never heard of till those latter Ages, but from the care and sollicitude they ought to have for their Flocks; and it was first brought up by the Cannons of the *Gadican* Church. We in like manner have the word *Parfona* or *Parfon* peculiar to us in *England*. And it must not be omitted, that this same Priest is sometimes called *Presbyter* and *Clericus Diocelanus*.

38. For in the ancient Monuments of the Church, it is often found that the words *Dioecsis* and *Parocia* are promiscuously used. *Dioecsis* sometimes signifies the same thing which we in the present Modern Sense call a Parish, although most commonly by it is meant a Territory of great Extent both in an Ecclesiastical and Civil Sense, as formerly we have observed. By *Parocia* (rather to be written *Paroecia*) at the beginning of Christian Religion, and not a few Ages after, was not meant a Society or Communion of Neighbours meeting at the same Church, but that which we call now a Dioecsis or a Bishoprick. *Filescus* traces it down beyond the Nephews of *Charles* the Great, as far as *Arnulphus* the Emperour. This promiscuous use of Names which we find to be very frequent in the Hierarchy, is to be attributed partly to the extent of their signification, many being applicable to the same Person and thing in several respects, partly to the vicinity of all Humane Affairs, wherein Language hath a very great share, nothing more depending upon the Fancy of the Vulgar: and partly to the Latitude of the Christian Church, which extending it self through all places and Countries, no wonder that it receives diversity of Terms, for we see particular Regions, though of the same Language in groſs, yet have several Dialects and Idioms. Notwithstanding the promiscuous use of words, the things themselves are not so hard to be distinguished, but that their diversity may be

discourſed

discovered by unprejudiced minds, although with that difficulty which ever accompanies matter remote, and of so large a distance.

39. At length we arrive at the lowest step of those Sacred Promotions, and that is the Office of a Deacon. To a Deacon it (a) belonged to assist the Bishop and Priest, and minister in all things concerning the Sacraments of Christ, to receive Offerings, and Preach (or read) the Gospel, the New Testament being delivered to him for this purpose. To him also belonged the Offices of Prayer, writing of the Names of such as were to be Ordained, Baptized, the Dead and Excommunicate. He was wont to exhort unto Prayer, and give notice in the Celebration of Divine Offices, give the usual Blessing, and publish the Festivals of the Church. Such was the Polity of the Ancient Primitive Apostolick Church for the main, Ordained and Established by Christ's Apotles, circumstantiated according to the Exigence of Affairs, and that Liberty which our Saviour hath left to his Officers in Matters of Prudence, Decency and Order. And no other sorts of Orders dare we acknowledge of Divine Right; the (b) *Romanists* themselves confessing that the lesser sorts have no ground in Scripture. *Dionysius* who calls himself the *Aeropagite* owneth only the Three Orders of Bishops, Priests and Deacons. The Cannons that go under the name of the Apotles, reckon but Five, of Bishops, Priests, Deacons, Readers and Chanters. The Master of the Sentences himself confesseth that the Church in succeeding times Ordained Sub-deacons and Acolythi, so that farther the Canonists for their number of Nine, nor the Divines for that of Seven, can bring any certain thing out of the best and purest Antiquity. But how these might come in, as also concerning the nature of their Offices, besides concerning the Original and Nature of other Dignities, which the Prudence of latter Ages thought fit to Establish, we shall speak upon occasion in their due and most proper place.

40. But having given a prospect of this stately Primitive Building, it remains to shew, how in an Humane way it was maintained, how these Officers subsisted, what was the Salary of these Spiritual Souldiers, and what strength the Secular Arm afforded to the Spiritual, in the erecting of its Authority and Power. At first all things were common amongst Christians, afterward this Community ceasing, when the caufe was removed, this Custome was introduced, that all Contributions towards the Maintenance of the Ministry should be at the disposal of the Bishop. This being divided into Four parts, he himself had one, his Clergy another, the Third was distributed to the Poor, and the Fourth was reserved for the Repairing of Churches; those times of Persecution affording all sorts of Discouragements to needy Persons, and being so far from Contributing to the support of those Religious Edifices, that they rather were employed in Burning the Temples and Worshippers together. At this time Priests were Arbitrarily sent into some certain place or Parish by the Bishop, whose Revenues and Work were not then so great, but that he could easily undergo the trouble of Inspection over his whole Diocese, inasmuch that all Dues were paid to him, and by him to his Clergy; which Dues, if Credit may be given to an Arabick Canon of the First Nicene Council, were Collected by the care of the *Chorepiscopus*.

41. After that Christianity was more diffused and settled, and that particular Churches were assigned to Residuary Incumbents, a more certain way of Livelihood was obtained, and the Maintenance of the Minister became the Burden of the Soil. When Kings once became Nurfing Fathers and Queens Nurfing Mothers to the Church, Bishops were presently provided of an ample and certain Revenue. Their Endowments consisted not in Tithes, but in good Temporal and Forable Land bestowed on them by Princes and other Benefactors. This appeareth out of the Code (a) where we find several Laws of *Confinantine* the Great, and other Emperours, down to the time of *Justinian* himself, both for conferring of Lands upon the Church, and such Lands as should neither be Barren, nor burdened with Statute or other Debts of the Exchequer, as also for the preserving of Lands in such manner conferred: and if those Emperours had any occasion to change the Lands of the Church, they would ever (b) allow them such as should be of as good value or better. Parish Priests were maintained by Tithes which were paid even before the Reformation by *Confinantine*, as appeareth from St. *Cyprian* (c) who adviseth the Clergy of his time, seeing they had

had Tithes allotted for their Maintenance, that they should not withdraw themselves from the Service of God. The orderly assignment of Tithes to every Parish is ascribed to *Dionysius* Bishop of *Rome*, who in imitation of *St. Paul's* appointing Bishops in Cities, is said also to have made and distinguished Parishes about the Year 266, into such Form as now they retain.

Ced. lib. 1.

Jurisdiction
in Ecclesiastical
Affairs given to
the Church.

42. Then forasmuch as it was necessary that the Spiritual Power should be strengthened and assisted by the Temporal, purity of Doctrine in the Church not always procuring goodness of Manners, that which to some is Religion, being to others no more than Faction, and Love being too cold to procure perfect Obedience, except it was backed by awe and fear; to Bishops was granted peculiar Jurisdiction by Christian Emperours, Those extended to Persons and Causes Ecclesiastical, such as touched the Soul and Conscience, and appertained to Charitable and Godly Uses: To the Laity also so far forth as it either concerned their Souls Health, or the external Government of the Church in things decent and comely; or as respected poor and miserable Persons, such as Widows, Orphans, Captives, and suchlike helpless People, or where the Civil Magistrature could not be come by, or willfully delayed Judgment, in which Cases the Prelate was to discharge the Office both of an upright Judge and an Holy Bishop. Against Hereticks and those that disturbed the Peace of the Church, they had Power also granted, not only to confute them by Learning and rational Discourse, but also to suppress them by Authority. All which the Fourth Book of *Justinian's* Code doth sufficiently declare.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

From the first Nicene Council called by Constantine, to the Apostacy of Julian.

The space of Thirty six Years.

1. *Constantine* having delivered the Church from Persecution and other external Pressures, it began speedily to be more afflicted than usual by internal Evils. The pinching Cold of Adversity makes us keep close and unite together, nipping the Passions of Strife and Amulation in their Blossoms, but in the Sunshine of Prosperity we separate our selves, and the evil Roots of Pride, Vain-glory, Hatred and Contention, then put forth and sprout amaine. One *Arius* gave the occasion to these Distempers, a Man born (or publick Mischief) as most Writers say in *Alexandria*, Educated at School in *Antioch*, where he attained a Competency of Humane Learning, and having by his good Parts grown into Fame for Philosophy, fell to the Study of Divinity. Thence furnished with competent Learning, he returned to *Alexandria*, where he so well behaved himself, that he was admitted to be a Deacon by *Peter* the Bishop, but joyned himself with the Disciples of *Meletius*, who had made a Separation from that Church, accusing the Bishop of Austerity, for not having received *Meletius* too readily to Communion after he had, for fear of Death, offered Incense to the Heathen Gods. After the Martyrdom of *Peter*, at his return to *Alexandria*, he was by *Achillas* his Successor, restored to Communion with them, and to continued till he was become one of the Presbyters there, and till *Achillas* died. He seemed then a Competitor with *Alexander* the following Bishop, and failing of his Expectation, grew discontented, and thence fell into the itch of disputing certain Principles of Religion, and hard Points (as Hereticks are observed to do) in the concourse of People.

Nicoph. l. 8.

Theodor. l. 1.

Theodor. l. 1.

Suzon. l. 1.

Epiphani. l. 2.

Dion. l. 1.

Dion. l. 1.

Dion. l. 1.

Disputing
about the
Trinity gains
several Prose-
lytes.

2. Having the Advantage which fo abstruse and high a Point as the Mystery of the *Trinity* affords, besides the Ignorance of the Times, and the easiness of Vulgar Spirits, he made such progress in his design, that he had soon gained Seven hundred Women, such as placed Sanctity in the Profession of Virginity, besides Seven Presbyters and Twelve Deacons, before *Alexander* the Bishop took any notice of it. At length *Meletius* having discovered it by the Poisoning of certain of his own Sect, *Alexander* by Preaching and Argument endeavoured to obviate the growing Mischief, wherein *Arius* found himself so concerned, that he fell into a Contest, and possessed the People with an Opinion that their Bishop maintained the Doctrine of *Sabellius*, so that *Alexander* was constrained to Assemble a Provincial Synod, as well to justify himself from such unjust Aspersions, as to determine the Matter concerning *Arius*. But he managed the Affair with too much mildness, inasmuch that the *Arians* were rather emboldened. For although the Synod determined against the *Arian* Tenets, and inhibited *Arius* from further publishing any such Opinions, yet, when they came to Subscribe, Ten Persons refused, as well as *Arius*, of which number five were Presbyters, and as many Deacons: The Multitude was still for the newest Opinion, and was prejudiced much against the Truth by that Reverence which now it bore to the Person of *Arius*. For he had a smooth and flattering Tongue, was of a winning Behaviour, though serious Aspect, and indeed every way a goodly Person; a very prevalent means to procure respect (even *Cateris imparibus*) from ordinary Capacities, especially those of the weaker Sex.

His Tenets.

3. Now therefore he held and published these following Doctrines with more Resolution and Animosity. "First, That the Son of God is like unto God in Name only, but not in Substance. Secondly, That the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are not of the same Nature, Power and Majesty, inasmuch as the Father alone is the Invisible God, and alone to be Worshipped; the Son may be called

Philast. de

Heresi.

Cassiod. trip.

Hist. lib. 1. c. 12.

C. Nicoph. l. 1.

C. 1. c. 1.

Hieron. Aug.

C. 1.

"God, but is a created God, being the Son of God by Adoption, and not by Nature, for there was a time when he had no being at all. Thirdly, That yet the Son of God was the first Creature that ever God made, and was made of those things which have no existence, and is the most excellent of all Creatures. Fourthly, That the Son of God is the Instrument of God his Father; by whom he made all other Creatures, yet doth he not know his Fathers Secrets, nor comprehend his Nature and Essence. Fifthly, That the Son is not Infinite as his Father is, for when he lived in the World with Men, he was not then in Heaven with his Father, and that his Kingdom shall end with the World. Sixthly, That the Holy Ghost is a Creature, Created of the Son of God, knowing neither the Secrets and Nature of the Father nor the Son, being much Inferior in Nature and Dignity to them both, their Subject and Servant.

4. *Arius* refusing to subscribe the Decrees of the *Alexandrian Synod*, and proceeding in the publication and owning of his Opinions, was with his Followers ejected from their several Benefices, and from Communion with the Church. Yet, as it happened in such cases, being esteemed Confessors for this their Suffering, and more esteemed by the Ignorant and prejudiced sort, was he so much flocked after, that Tumults arose, and several Outrages were committed, to the great Scandal of the Christian Faith. The Proceedings of the *Alexandrian Council* were now the general Discourse of the Christian World. *Alexander* the Bishop, to prevent and avoid false Representations, was constrained by Letter to several Churches to make Relation of Particulars, which gained belief according to the Inclination of the Receivers; and still the *Arians* seemed to get ground. The Bishop then considering what influence Preaching hath upon the Multitude, and how the Pulpits were made to serve the Designs of Factions and Heretical Spirits, Humour, Passion, Ignorance, and all Distempers passing under the Vizard of Gods Word, he ordained that no Priest in *Alexandria* should Preach without especial License first obtained. This proved so efficacious a Counter-plot to their Devices, that *Arius* forsook his Post, and departed into *Palestine*, where meeting with less opposition, he got opportunity to Preach and gather Companies together, as he and his Party had been accustomed.

5. Yet were those of *Palestine* so sensible of the good Effects of Order and Government, that they pressed *Arius* to submit to his Bishop, and return into Communion with him. But he not able to stoop so low, repairs to *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, his old Acquaintance when he studied at *Antioch*, who having heard his Tale, so far complies with him, as to repair to the Emperor, and misrepresent to him the Dealings of the Council of *Alexandria*. *Constantine* became so taken with *Eusebius*, that ever after he had much his Ear, and in Church Matters had great Application made to him. Thinking himself no mean Man, he writes to *Alexander*, advises him to pass by the matter concerning *Arius*, and receive him and his Followers again into Communion, other Churches he stirs up to resist the Proceedings of the *Alexandrian*, and strengthens the Hands of the *Meletians* in their Faction and Schism. By this means the business came to more Heat and Contention, and *Sylvester* Bishop of *Rome* much concerned himself in it; by his endeavours a General Council is appointed at *Alexandria*, over which presided *Eusebius* Bishop of *Corduba* in *Spain*. He taking *Nicomedia* in his way, where the Emperor then resided, received his Letters to *Alexander* and *Arius*, wherein one may perceive the Finger of *Eusebius*, to slight a matter they make of the Difference betwixt them two. But *Eusebius*, notwithstanding his great Abilities and Endeavours, could do little good, the Council ending without any considerable Conclusion. Yet the several Cases of *Schism* and *Coluthus* are remarkable, of whom *Coluthus* a Priest, bearing himself as a Bishop, and *Schism* a Lay-person, as a Priest, was reduced into Order by the Fathers. The Heresie of *Sabellius* also, though formerly condemned, yet in those Parts having again got ground was now exploded, and for that he had confounded the Three Persons in the *Trinity*, taking away all distinction by means of this Synod, one *Idol* or Essence was said to be in the Blessed *Trinity*, and three *Persons* or Persons, from which Terms afterwards a great Controversie arose.

6. Little

F Who do nothing in that Matter.

Another Council at Nice in Bithynia.

Which is filed a General Oecumenical Council.

The Persons summoned who

The Management obdurate in Dispute.

6. Little good proceeding from the Council of *Alexandria*, or any other means of Reconciliation, the Empire began to be generally infected with the Distemper of *Arianism*, so that against a Disease so Epidemical as this was like to prove, some Catholick Remedy was to be provided; such, an Universal or General Council out of the whole Empire seemed to be, which *Constantine* at length resolved should be Summoned to *Nice*, a City of *Bithynia*, as most convenient for all Parts, by reason of its Situation. Now in this respect was the Scene of Affairs happily changed. Formerly in great Fear and Secrecie did the Bishops and others assemble to compose Differences sprung up in the Church; Great and Solemn Meetings would have given occasion of jealousy and Cruelty to have been exercised upon so many Pastors so opportunely met at one time and place. Before those times Differences went not out of one City, or at the most out of a Province: now by reason of the Liberty of meeting together they extended themselves over the whole Empire; wherefore it was necessary that Councils (the usual remedy) should also be assembled from places at a farther distance.

7. Hereupon a Council of the whole Empire being Assembled, now by the (sole) Authority of the Prince, it had the Name of the Holy and Great Synod, and a little after was called the General and Oecumenical Council, though it were not Assembled from all parts of the Church, a considerable part whereof, even long before this time, having extended it self beyond the Limits of the *Roman Empire*, but because it was the Custom of those Ages to call the Emperor Lord of the whole habitable Earth, although the Tenth part of it was not subject to him. After this pattern were Councils called by the Successors of *Constantine*, upon all such urgent Occasions, as well after that the Empire was divided into Eastern and Western, as before, the Affairs thereof being still managed under a common name as well Secular as Ecclesiastical. But when the East came so to be divided from the West, that there remained no more Communion in the Sovereignty, as it happened after the promotion of *Charles the Great*, after that, the last was for the most part possessed by *Saracens*, and the West Canonized into many Kingdoms and Signories, the name of an Oecumenical and Universal Council was no more derived from the *Roman Empire*, but amongst the *Gracians* from the Assembly of the *Five Patriarchs*, and in the more Western parts from the Unity and Communion of such Kingdoms and States as obeyed the Bishop of *Rome* in Causes Ecclesiastical. And the assembling of those for the most part, hath been not principally for the decision of Religious questions as formerly, but either to make War in the Holy Land, or to compose Schisms and Divisions in the Church of *Rome*, or for the ending of Controversies between the Bishops and Christian Princes. All which we shall see in their proper places.

8. Councils for about (a) Eight hundred years were called by Christian Emperors and Kings. Unto them first, and in the chief place were summoned Bishops, as the most proper Pastors and Rulers of the Church. After them (b) Priests or Presbyters had the next place sitting together with the Bishops, and giving their voices. Deacons were present also of old, but stood by with the rest of the People. In (c) the most ancient times Christ and the Holy Ghost presiding, and Charity prevailing against all Heat and Passion, they advised and resolved without Ceremonies or Forms prescribed. Before the days of *Constantine*, there being a necessity to govern them with some order, that Bishop chieftest for Learning, or the greatness of his See, or for some other respect of eminency, had the charge to propose and guide the Action and collect the Voices. Afterward the Action was guided by those Princes or Magistrates that had called them together, who also were personally present, proposing, governing the Dispute, decreeing interlocutorily the occurring Differences, but leaving the Decision of the principal Point to the major part of Voices. *Constantine* so ordered Matters in this of *Nice* and others elsewhere, as will be seen upon occasion.

9. Of old, sometime the Matter was so easy, that all was dispatched in one Meeting. Sometime by reason of the difficulty or multiplicity of business, there was necessity of making many Sessions in the same Council. But this was done without Ceremony, or with intention only to publish what was done before, or digested elsewhere, but that the opinion of every one might be understood, and the Colloquies, Discussions, Disputes, and whatsoever was done or spoken, was called the *Acts of the Council*. The Notaries appointed to Collect the Voices when a Bishop spoke and was not contradicted, wrote not his proper Name, but this *The Holy*

Vide Paulum Venetum in Concilio Tridentini Hist.

(a) Cusanus Omnia sive universalia Concilia per Imp. Congregata legitur.

(b) Cassiole Filiosque de paroch. orig. p. 66. dicit.

(c) Vide Paulum Venetum que prius.

Holy Synod said; when many said the same thing, it was written *The Bishops acclaim, or affirm*, and the things so spoken, were taken for Decisions, if they spake in a contrary Sense, the contrary Opinions were noted with the Names of the Authors, and the Presidents pronounced. After the Division of the Empire, some parts of these ancient Councils yet remained in the West, many were celebrated in *France and Germany* under the Posterity of *Charles the Great*, and not a few in *Spain* under the *Gothick Kings*. At last the Bishop of *Rome* his Power prevailing, Princes were absolutely debarred from meddling in Church Matters, whereby the former sort of Councils grew out of use, and that alone remained which was called by Ecclesiastical Persons themselves, the Convocation of which Provincial Councils was almost wholly assumed by the *Pope*, who sent his Legates to preside wherever he heard that a Council was to be held.

10. At length he assumed to himself that Power which the *Roman Emperours* had formerly used to convocate a Council of the whole Empire, and preside himself if he were present, or in his absence to send Legates to be Presidents and govern the Action. The Prelates assembled, being freed from all fear of a Secular Prince by reason of many Indecencies which were multiplied as worldly respects increased, began to digest and order their Matters in private, that they might observe more decency in the publick Meeting. In process of time this became a Form, and in Councils beside the Sessions, they began to make Congregations of some Deputies to set in order such Matters as were to be treated of, which in the beginning, if many, were divided, and a proper Congregation assigned to every one. But all Indecencies being not hereby removed, because those that were absent having different Interests, raised Difficulties in publick; besides the particular Congregations, they made a general one before the Session, where all were present, which according to the ancient Rite, is the Conciliar Action, because the Session, every thing being done before, is but a pure Ceremony. But after an Age or two, National Interests being different, caused Diffentions amongst the Bishops of diverse Countries; whereupon those that came from far, being few, and judging it unreasonable to be outvoted by the neighbouring Prelates, who were more in number, to make the balance equal, it was necessary that every Nation should assemble by it self, as formerly the Tribes in the *Roman Comitia*, and resolve according to the number of Voices, and that the general Decision should be Established, not by the Suffrages of particular Men, but by the Plurality of the Voices of the Nations. This course was observed in the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*: which use, as it was good where the Government was Free, as it was when the World owned no *Pope*, so it ill besisted *Trent*, where they desired a Council subject to him.

11. But at *Nice* met Three hundred and eighteen Bishops from all parts of the Empire, amongst whom many carried about them the Trophies of their Christian Warfare, Scars all over their Bodies, and mutilation of Members. The Emperour with a short Speech opened the Council, and after general Admonitions commended Two things especially to their Care: the one was for Establishing one settled Practice in the Church in the Point of keeping *Easter*, and the other was concerning the *Arian* Doctrine, the principal cause of their meeting. The first was effected with little or no Contest, the Custom of the Western Churches being Established, and that of the *Arian* abolished by Decree of the Council and the Emperours Edict; although from the Acts of the Council now Extant, little appears concerning this Matter. The business about *Arius* held them long in Debate, who according to Summons appeared, and maintained his Opinions. The Dispute against him was chiefly managed by *Alexander* and *Athanasius* his Deacon, who charged him with such Tenets as he had formerly maintained at *Alexandria*. The Council examined his Book called *Thalia*, wherein were found so many of his Opinions, and such Wantonness (he being much suspected of Uncleanness, in his ordinary Conversation with Women, which he called his Virgins) that it was condemned by the Council and burnt by command of *Constantine*. But when the Fathers should come to establish the Orthodox Faith, after they had resolved against *Arius* his Heresie, it cost them some labour to invent what Terms were fit to express the co-equal Divinity of God the Son with his Father, so as no hole might be left for the *Arians* to creep out at. At length they resolved upon the Greek word *ousions* or *Consubstantial*, which they had observed to be much feared and avoided by the *Arians* from an Epistle of *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia* read in the Synod.

12. The

12. The *Arians* perceiving themselves foiled by the addition of this, thought to reinforce the charge, by putting in the word *Unbegotten*, with relation to the Father; as thence deducing by consequence, that the Son was made and Created. But the Fathers aware of their design, receiving this word added to it, that the Son was so *begotten, that he was not made*, by which their design was quite dashed; then was drawn up a Formulary of the Catholic Faith: whereof *Hosius*, who presided in the Council, was Author, now called the *Niceene Creed*, and passed June 19. on Saturday. But in this Council, nothing appears to have been added to the *Apostles Creed*, concerning the *Holy Ghost*; which happened by reason that nothing was now urged against his Divinity by *Arius*; which course was so wisely taken up by his Followers, and more privately before this had been practiced by him, it being very ready and in a manner consequential to him, who denied the Divinity of *Christ* to reject that of the *Holy Spirit*. Having happily finished the Affair concerning *Arius*, they settled the matter concerning *Easter*; and for that several Countrys observed several Customs and Calculations of time, it pleased the Synod to commit the charge of the Paschal Cycles to the Bishop of *Alexandria*, in giving notice of the time of Celebration, which was done every Year preceeding; seeing that the Letters concerning the time were wont to be published by the Deacons, on the day of the *Epiphany*, and by the Bishop of that City, to be sent up and down to the Churches of the West.

13. Having for the better Calculation of time, Established the Golden Number, containing the period of Nineteen Years, they came to discuss the cause of *Meletius*, the Schismatical Bishop of *Lyco*, in the Province of *Alexandria*. This Man for Sacrificing to Idols, in the time of *Diocletian*, and other causes had been deprived of his Bishoprick by *Peter* the Metropolitan, who afterwards suffered Martyrdom; at which censure conceiving great indignation, he ceased not to rail against *Peter*, and his Successors, and made a separation from the Communion of the Church; continuing Schismatical with a multitude of Followers to this very time. The Synod now tell the Church of *Alexandria*, and their Brethren throughout *Egypt*, *Lybia* and *Pentapolis*, that they had dealt with him, with more clemency than he deserved; having decreed that he should remain in his own City without any Episcopall power, retaining only the bare Name and Title of his Office and Dignity, and they resolved that the Clergy should submit wholly to those whom the Metropolitan had ordained: And because that by reason of this Schism *Meletius* had throughout *Egypt* at his pleasure made many Ordinations, the Synod by a Canon forbid that in *Egypt*, *Lybia* or *Pentapolis*, any should be ordained Bishop without the knowledge of the Metropolitan, (this being the ancient privilege of the *Alexandrian Church*) as the Custom was observed towards the *Roman Bishop*.

14. By this Council were framed Twenty Canons in all, and no more are to be found in any good and certain Author: *Turrian* the Jesuit tells us of Eighty, which having found in the Arabic Tongue he Translated, and *Ruffinus* counts 22. But *Theodoret* affirms there were but 20. And whereas many things are cited by Writers of succeeding times, as from the *Nicene Council*, rather rather are to be understood of the Acts, than the Canons thereof, rather of passages which happened, not directly but accidentally, and recorded in Story, than of the solemn decrees of the Fathers; besides this being the first great and Oecumenical Council, all opinions were ambitious from it to derive descent and pedigree; and the Acts afterwards coming to be lost and imbezeld, whether through the negligence of the Keepers thereof, or which is more likely, through the practice of Heretics, who were unwilling to be upbraided with so urgent a Testimony; great latitude was given for pretenders to enlarge the number of the Canons, and out of them to forge Arguments for the raising or upholding of their particular Sects and Opinions.

15. The first of the Twenty received Canons (a) depose such Clerks, as had voluntarily made themselves Eunuchs, and prohibits such to be ordained for the future; excepting such as either necessity of Cure, or of Force and Violence, had undergone Mutilation from (b) Phisicians, their imperious Lords, or Cruel and Barbarous Enemies. The Second taking notice, that many contrary to Rule, leapt out of the Font into the Episcopall Chair, or the Seat and Office of a Priest; having been but lately Catechized (c) or Instituted in the Christian Faith; strictly forbids such practice for the time to come, concluding from (d) Apostoli-

G 2

Over all one presides.

The Nicene Council passed

Meletius punished.

The twenty Canons of the first Nicene Council.

Arianism. Ep. ad Jul. Soc. Lib. 1. c. 5. Len. Ep. 64.

Sec. 1. c. 6. d. 5. p. ubi vide Epist. Synodiam.

Council. Nic. c. 6.

Lib. 1. c. 2.

(a) Diff. 15. Signis a Medici.

(b) In the Latin Canon.

monstrum.

by which both here and in the Imperial Laws, Cy-

rurgians are understood, not those L. armed

in the Theory of Physick.

(c) Diff. 42. quoniam multi

(d) 1 Tr. 1.

Easter settled.

The Heresie of Arius condemned.

Author vita Constant. c. 14. Sec.

during those Fifty Holy-days betwixt *Easter* and *Whitsontide*, no Man did so much as *de geniculis adorare*, Worship God or Pray on his knees. Those days, though now neglected, were then, when the memory of the Resurrection, and the benefits thereof was more fresh, carefully observed, and *Tertullian* considering their number, takes notice that they were more than the Superstitious Heathen observed throughout the whole Year.

21. All things being concluded which the *Nicene Council* thought fit to Ordain, the Fathers came to Subscribe both the *Cannons* and the *Creed*. *Hofius* Bishop of *Cardaba* was the first that Subscribed, not the *Legates of Silvestre* Bishop of *Rome* viz. *Victor* and *Vincencius*, two Presbyters of that City. Seventeen yet are said to have refused being infected, it seems with the Principles of *Arius*, which when the Emperor understood, as highly affected with the conclusion of the Council, he declared he would Banish all refusers, whereupon Eleven of the Disfenters were brought into a Subscription, of which Disfenters *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia* was chief; so the Decrees being confirmed by Imperial Authority, the Council which had Assembled on the Eighteenth of the Calends of *July* (June the Fourteenth) was dissolved, on or about the Eighth of the Calends of *September* (August 25th.) having began and ended in the Twentieth Year of *Constantine*, the First of the 276, *Olympiad*, the 1078. Year of *Rome*: Of Christ 325. *Anicetus* *Paschasius* *Paulinus*, and *P. Fabius* *Centenius* *Jalcanus* *Camennus* being Consuls.

22. Besides *Hofius* who presided at the Council, first Subscribed, and is not in the *Acts* at all taken notice of, as the *Legate* of the *Roman* Bishop, the most eminent of those *Nicene* Fathers was *Alexander* Patriarch or Metropolitan (the other Name being scarcely yet in use) of *Alexandria*, *Eustathius* of *Antioch* and *Marcarius* of *Jerusalem*, all of them Famous for their Christian Faith, Courage and Sanctity: Amongst those Bishops which *Alexander* brought along with him, none were so Eminent; as *Potamon* Bishop of *Heraclaea* in *Egypt*, and *Paphnuthius*, one as good as many, who as he equalized the former in the loss of his (Right Eye in the Persecution of *Maximinus*, so he went beyond him in the loss of his left Leg, and his Condemnation to the Mines. He is reported by *Ruffinus* to have been also Famous for Miracles, and in such Veneration with all good Men, that *Constantine* the Emperor, himself would often most kindly and familiarly embrace him, and greedily kiss that empty place which had formerly held his Martyr'd Eye; and this is not the least of his Commendations that he stood up for the Liberty of Clergy-men, when some went about to have enslaved them under the Yoke of forced Continence; although *Cassiodorus*, *Epiphanius*, *Socrates*, *Sozomen* and *Nicephorus* most of them, if not all, Grave and approved Authors for but reporting one piece of History in Favour of Priests Marriages are spit upon and discarded with disgrace by certain Grandees of the contrary opinion. But *Eusepius* a Learned and Sober Writer defends their Authority about *Paphnuthius*.

23. As *Egypt* affording such Bishops, made some amends to the Church, for that detriment is sustained through *Arius* a Clerk of the same Province; so in producing the most powerful Adversary that Arch-Heretic ever had, and one whom Patience and Magnanimity, as well as Faith commend as a great Pattern to all Ages; it seemed to overbalance the inconvenience, as no Country can be blamed for the Generation of a Poysonous and Venomous thing which carries not its Appology viz. a proper Antidote, in its own Bosom. This was *Athanasius* a Person who though he assisted at this Council, but in quality of *Alexander* his Deacon is yet to Act the most considerable part in this Troublesome and Tempestuous Scene, and for that purpose must needs change his Quality and dress fleeing *Alexander* the most Worthy Bishop of *Alexandria*, who about five Months after the conclusion of the Synod, changed this Life, and went to enjoy that Blessed Trinity which he had so Faithfully and Industriously defended. *Athanasius* was born at *Alexandria* about the Rising and Spreading of *Arius* his Tenets, being a Boy by content of all Writers when *Alexander* was Bishop of that See; and when he was yet a Boy (but Twelve Years old, as *Baronius* guesseth) his Genius discovered it self, even then strongly bent to an Episcopal Demeanure, as appears by a remarkable passage.

24. The Church of *Alexandria* had a Custom of keeping a Solemn Festival, and Thanksgiving on that day whereon *Peter* their Bishop had suffered Martyrdom one day amongst the rest (the Anniversary that happened about that Age of *Athanasius*) after they were come from Church, as *Alexander* expecting certain of the best

best Rank to Dine with him, by chance looked out at a Window, he espied certain Boys on the Sea shore, who as he thought were in their sport Baptizing one another, having called some of those that were present with him to behold the sight, he sent for the Boys, and asked them what they had been doing by the Sea-side, and when they being abashed and silent he urged them to speak, they told him that one of them there, *Athanasius*, as chief in their sport, had Baptized some of them who had not formerly been Initiated, and that he had made some of them Priests, others Deacons to assist him in that Service; having examined them before, and given them instructions how they ought to demean themselves for the future, and so they told him the whole Story: *Alexander* together with the Priests considering the substance of the Work, concluded the Baptized Boys were not to be Re-baptized, but adding what he thought further necessary to be done, he sent for their Parents, and charging them to Educate them for the Ministry, he especially took care of *Athanasius*, requiring he should be now and then brought to his presence, that he himself might take notice of his Proficiency in Learning. He is said to have much profited at School, being well grounded in Grammar, Skilled in Philosophy, and Studied in the Law; but those he made but subservient to Divinity, in the Study, whereof having good assistance from many worthy Confessors, who could teach him the Practic part by their own example, as well as the Speculative by Arguments and Precepts; he gave such pregnant Proof of his Industry, that besides other Testimonies, he had the Books both of the Old and new Testament in Memory without book.

25. *Alexander* finding *Athanasius* his Proficiency to have surmounted his expectation, took him into his own Family, and made him his *Amanuensis*, in which Employment after he had continued some time, and made further Progress in his Studies, he took him into the Number of his Deacons at *Alexandria*, and carried him along with him to the Council of *Nice*, where he assisted him in his Prosecution of *Arius*, when the Blasphemous Doctrines he had uttered at the Council of *Alexandria* were produced and engaged against the Heretics in a Solemn disputation published amongst his other Works: He was now grown in great esteem for his Abilities and Integrity amongst all those of the best and Orthodox Party, when *Alexander* dyed, who having more intimate knowledge of him than any other, is thought designed him his Successor; the good old Man lying at the point of Death, called for *Athanasius*, which one of that name hearing, and coming to him, he looked on him, and turned away his Face, and continuing still to call, at last said, *thou thinkest Athanasius to escape, but it shall not be*; which words whether he spoke Prophetically as some imagined, or as designing him to his Chair as others think, he soon after Expired. *Alexander* being dead, *Athanasius* in a Provincial Council was chosen his Successor, not *Thaonius* and *Achillas*, as *Epiphanius* alone tells the Story. I was, saith *Athanasius*, chosen by *Arian* April. 2. the whole City and Province of *Alexandria*; Bishops, Priests, and People assembled together, with Prayers to God, publick Acclamations, Exhortations, Intreaties, Persuasions yea Obsecrations for several Days and Nights without rest either to themselves or me, not ceasing till they had prevailed with me to accept of their Choice.

26. In the beginning of the Government of *Athanasius*, was the Gospel Preached to the Lower Indians, by *Frumentius* a Tyrian, who when he was yet but a Boy, being carried thither by *Meropius* a Christian Philosopher, after his death (for he was Slain by the Indians) was entertained and preferred by that King, together with *Edesius* his School-fellow, and for his great dexterity in managing publick business, had in a manner that whole Government put into his hands; having this opportunity he first procured Liberty for Christian Merchants to meet together and build Churches; afterward he himself returning into his own Country, first made a Journey to *Alexandria*, to move that Patriarch that some fit Person might be sent Bishop into *India*: *Athanasius* being lately Consecrated, thought none so fit as *Frumentius* himself, who being Ordained and sent thither, is said by his Preaching and Miracles to have Converted an infinite Number of that People, and there to have Founded a Church: Thus much in more words and with more Circumstances relateth *Ruffinus* * who saith he had the Relation from *Edesius* the Companion of the said *Frumentius* and *Socrates* as much more, hath it from him, as also *Sozomen* and *Theodoret*; all of them moreover unite that about this same time were the *Iberians* converted to the Faith, by the religious Preaching, example, and Miraculous Acts of a certain Captive Christian Woman. *Ruffinus* saith he had it from *Bacarius* their King who came to *Constanti-*

ople

Subscribed
first by *Athanasius*
Bishop of *Cardaba*
Sec.

And confirmed
by the
Emperours
Edict.

The Birth
place of *Athanasius*.

At *Cent.*

Ruffinus lib.
1. c. 5.

His proficiency
in Learning.

He is made
a Deacon.

Soc. lib. 1. c. 3.

Lib. 1. c. 4.

Soc. lib. 1.

Soc. lib. 1. c.

Lib. 4. *Constantine*.

And upon
Alexander's
death *Sozomen*
chose him
his Successor.

The Lower
Indians
Converted.

Soc. lib. 1.

Soc. lib. 1. c. 15.

Ruffinus, 1. 1.

14.

* *L. 1. c. 9.*
Soc. lib. 1. c. 15.
Soc. lib. 2. c.
23. Theod. 1. 1.
c. 23.

nople to desire of the Emperor that Priests might be sent to instruct his Nation, of whom he not only obtained what he came for, but was dignify'd with the Office also of *Comes Domesticorum*, and *Dux* or General of the Palestine Limit. *Baronius* thinks him the same that (a) *Ammianus* calls *Barbarius* or *Balaris* the *Iberian*, created by the Emperor *Comes Domesticorum*, and leader of the *Scutarii* and *Sagittarii*: But whereas that part of *Iberia* which lay toward the *Pontick* Sea, was long before Converted by the Preaching of *Clement* the Roman Bishop, driven thither by Persecution in the days of *Trajan*, those now Converted must be the *Lower Iberians* inhabiting those places near the Mountains of *Caucasus* and the *Caspian* Sea. Two things there were which of old mightily contributed occasions to the Conversion of Barbarous Nations, the one was the Wars against such People, who were often conquered by their Captives, that ceased not out of their Chains and Dungeons to Preach unto them: The other those tedious and exquisite Persecutions of Heathen Emperours, who forcing the Faithful ones to fly for shelter amongst fierce and Barbarous People, God stopped the Mouths of those *Lions* and *Tigers* who entertaining those Strangers, entertained Angels or the Messengers of glad Tidings for a reward; and through some Miscalried, and as a reward of their Sufferings, received the Crown of Martyrdom (such the Primitive Christians really accepted it) yet through designation of Almighty God, the Blood of the Martyrs still became the Seed of the Church.

27. But the Preference of *Athanasius* vehemently disturbed the minds of the *Arians*, who knowing him a Person most likely of all others to ruin their Cause, left no Stone unfired to remove him. *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia* especially, who by means of *Constantia* the Widow of *Licinius*, and Sister of *Constantine*, had through his great Industry and Dissimulation, not only recovered the Emperours favour, but insinuated himself much into his good esteem; he often told him how unfit a Man *Athanasius* was for such a place, lessening him all ways possible, and when this would not take, resolved to tamper with the Bishop himself, and try whether he might not bring him about to his own Party, or at least persuade or fright him into such Actions as might weaken the Catholic Interest: Headvise him by Letter to re-admit *Arian* and his Partisans into their Churches, or otherwise expect great inconveniences to follow. When neither by intreaty nor threats he could move *Athanasius*, whose answer was, he could not receive into Communion such as had been held for Hereticks by the Council, and to this purpose enraged at the Repulse, animated by his Heretical Zeal, and confident upon the account of his interest in *Constantia*, and power with *Constantine*, he begins to patronize Disputes and Preaching against the determinations of the late Council, which that he might do with less censure of inconstancy and Knavery, he and his party never left till by indirect practices they got into their hands the Acts of the Council from him, to whose Fidelity the Emperor had committed them, and having Obliterated their Subscriptions, so ordered the matter, they deprived Posterity of any view of them, although concerning the matter of their Fact there was sufficient Testimony. And thus revived the *Arian* Schism, which though it seemed suppressed by the Council, yet revived, and so increased as almost to take away Schism or Division, the whole World, as one faith, admiring to see its self all turned *Arian*; those that continued Orthodox were counted Singular, and as *Elijah*, formerly esteemed themselves as only (b) *left*: Such contentions and horrid distractions so unexpectedly followed this and other Councils, that to some sober Persons all (c) Christianity seemed to be laid aside, and although of such Meetings there be very much use (d) in the Church of God, yet some very (e) Eminent Persons were so much disgusted as to conclude (at least) from the abuse, against the use and designation of them.

(c) *Dum aliter alicuius auctoritas esse cepit prope iam nomen Christi est. Sol erat nisi pugna in verbis, qualis de negotiis, de distributis speciebus, de studiis certamen, in consensu diffinitum. Hilarius ad Constantium ep.* (d) *Constitutionum in Ecclesia Dei solentur in manu auctoritatem esse Aug. ep. 118.* (e) *Socinus. Ep. ad presbyt. ait si quicquam mirum videtur in veritate quam nullius non quum synodi laudat et Felices Eritum vidit propter officium non tamen idem agere quam augebitur habuisse.*

28. But *Eusebius* knowing the Power of the Prince of most weight for the balancing of any Party, feared lest *Athanasius*, should to begin with, and secure himself of the Emperours favour; he therefore with his Companions resolved to strike home and unbihop him if possible, having in vain tried formerly to disgrace the Man, now they question his Title, and quarrel with his Election, as brought about by the Faction and Combination of a few Persons therein concerned, they Remonstrated to *Constantine*, that after the Death of *Alexander* fifty and four of the Suffragan Bishops being assembled to an Election, when they had upon their Oaths given their Votes for one Person, nevertheless Seven of

Arian the Heretick, rejected by *Athanasius*.

Upon which they endeavour to unbihop him.

the Number perfidiously separated from the rest, made choice of *Athanasius*, and Ordained him, upon which account many of the *Egyptians*, both Clergy and Churches, altogether refused Communion with him; and they could not but in Duty further inform their Prince that he was Pragmatical, and Turbulent, occasioning Dissentions and Fomenting Divisions amongst the People.

29. *Athanasius* easily satisfied the Emperor, both that *Arian* who had been forbidden by the Council to return to *Alexandria*, and was the Arch-Heretic, ought not to be received into Communion, and concerning those Accusations, having as it fortunately happened, sent two of his Presbyters to the Court to excuse his not waiting on the Emperor by reason of his more than Ordinary Employments at his first coming to the See, and to reply any objections that might be made against him. They do dexterously discharged what they had in Commendation against him. They do dexterously cleared all Doubts and Surmises, both as to the Bishops Legal Election, and his Personal Carriage and Deportment. This device of *Eusebius* not taking, he grew enraged at the success, and resolved if he could not ruin *Athanasius* at a distance from Court, he would make yet his Seat too hot for him, by kindling a Flame within his own Province. *Meletius* the Schismatick being favourably handled by the *Nicene Council* returned to his See at *Lycopolis* in *Egypt*, and there not only Ordained *Arsenius* contrary to the Canons thereof, Bishop of the *Armenians* (which place he himself had formerly held) but being urged to Name his Successor, made choice of one *John* his familiar Friend, to Succeed him: This begetting a Contention, for so much as the Jurisdiction of the Metropolitan was thereby much infringed, the *Arians* observing their opportunity, strike in with the *Meletians*, and under their Name and Pretences, resolve to try the utmost with *Athanasius*.

30. The *Meletians* therefore seeking Patronage of their Schism from the Emperor, as *Epiphanius* Writes, sent to him *John Calinicus* and *Ishyras* formerly mentioned (the one a *Meletian* Bishop, and the other made again as good as a Priest) to obtain a Toleration, and being barred of Access, undertook themselves *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*; He making advantage hereof, undertook their Patronage under condition of their receiving *Arian* into their Communion; and so not only procured them Audience but a Licence for their Separation, which *Baronius* denies, affirming that *Epiphanius* had this story from some Writer that favoured the *Meletians*, alleging that *Constantine* is cleared of this Calumny, by his Letters to *Athanasius*, and the Testimony of *Eusebius* (a Writer in the Cardinals judgment prone enough to the *Arian* Heresie) who witnesseth that he after the Council, did his endeavour to preserve the Authority of the Canons, and laboured to Compose those Dissentions in the Churches of *Egypt*. To be sure this is agreed on all hands, *Athanasius* went about to bring the *Meletians* to the observance of the *Nicene Canons*, which they again resisting, *Eusebius* and the rest of the *Arians* struck in with the Schismaticks and Levelled all their Engines against *Athanasius*.

31. *Eusebius* and *Theognis* laying their heads together, assume as Associates and Councillors in the attempt, their old Companions *Maris* Bishop of *Chalcedon* and *Valens* and *Ursarius* Bishops in *Pannonia*, formerly condemned by the Council. Those five present the Articles of the Schismaticks against *Athanasius*, wherein is objected that he is the great Cause and Fomentor of the troubles in the *Egyptian* Church. That like a false Traitor he endeavoured a Collection in *Egypt*, Levying Money, and therewith supplying *Philumenius*, who attempted the imbroyling of that Country in Sedition and Tumults; and that he oppressed the People of *Egypt*, exacting of them Linnen Cloaths or Veltments for the Church of *Alexandria*. His two Presbyters then lying at *Constantinople* easily refuted the objection concerning this Tribute of Linnen, (as indeed supposed to be exacted by him, shewing that this was no new thing (as indeed there are many Examples) to require Linnen for the Ornament of Churches. But there are many Examples) to appear and make his Defence himself, he judging it most safe Personally to present himself to the Emperor, so plainly and clearly baffled to Court, and presenting himself to the Emperor, so plainly and clearly evinced those Articles of Forgery, that he was dismissed with great Countenance and Respect, and with Letters Testimonial and Commendatory to the *Alexandrian* Church; all the Members whereof are severely enjoined to receive and honour him as their True, Loyal, and Pious Metropolitan. Some say the Emperor was so enraged at the double dealing of *Eusebius* and *Theognis* his Associates, that he forbore how upon refusal to Subscribe they had been Sentenced and afterward

And make Disturbances in the Province of office.

Several Articles against *Athanasius* presented to the Emperor by the Schismaticks.

Which being cleared.

See Lib. 2. 21.

Athen. A. pol. 2. See. lib. 2. 20. See. 1. 2. 2.

See. lib. 2. 20.

(b) *Non f. ego filius sum, circa minor est. Liberius Ep. Rom. ad Constant. imp. Arius.*

afterward Singing a Palinody at his Intercession, were freed from the danger of Exile, now in detestation both of their Relaps and Malice he caused to be Executed on them the former diera of Banishment, and *Amphion* and *Chirostus* were Substituted in their Places.

32. However their Banishment was not long, being within a Year or two recalled, by the intercession of *Constantia* as (a) *Baronius* thinks, though other Chronologers place her Death Four Years before, (A. D. 327.) which Lady at her last Funeral earnestly Commended her *Arian* Chaplain to her Brother, who by this means had notable opportunities to serve both the Person and Cause of *Eusebius*. Being recalled a little after the Dedication of the New City of *Constantinople*, they found new Matter wherewith to Charge *Athanasius*. *Ischyra* the pretended Priest whom *Coluthus* the pretended Bishop had Ordained, being found lurking about *Moeis*; where he acted the part of a true Minister; *Athanasius* had sent *Macarius*, one of his Presbyters who defended his Cause stoutly at *Constantinople*, to bring him to his presence, who finding *Ischyra* sick in Bed, left only word with the Father that he had been there, whom he advised to Council his Son not to intermeddle any more with the Ministerial Function till he had spoken with the Metropolitans. *Ischyra* finding he could not continue there, betook himself to *Eusebius* to whom he complained, that being a Priest he had been outrageously abused and wronged by *Athanasius*, his Church by him being Villified and Prophaned, his Alter overthrown, his Chalice broken in pieces, his Bible burnt, and himself threatened with Censures and Persecution. *Eusebius* having this advantage, as he thought against the Bishop, yet thought good to add greater Calumnies both that something might be sure to stick according to the* Proverb, and that they might not utterly lose the Emperor upon whom they had several times imposed with their devised Fables.

33. To the other therefore about *Ischyra*, they join the most impudent Calumny of all others, accusing him of having Murdered *Arsenius* a Bishop of the *Meletian* Faction: Whom that the device might take, they hid in a secret place, and produced a Mans Hand, which as barbarously cut from the dead Body of *Arsenius*, they shewed to the People. But their sport was partly spoiled by the Confession of *Ischyra*, who being sharply reprehended by some honest Men, confessed the Forgery about *Macarius*, and the Emperor was quickly satisfied that it was a trick, yet as to the business of *Arsenius*, he wrote to *Dalmatius* to enquire about it, one that then was *Censor* at *Antioch*, so far as he was bound to take notice of any Complaints concerning the violent death of his Subjects. This was the same Year that *Macarius* the Bishop of *Jerusalem* dyed, after he had fitted in that See Nineteen Years, whose Memory is Celebrated by the *Roman* Church, on the Tenth of *March*. He Succeeded *Maximus*, whom he had not long before Ordained Bishop of *Diopolis*; but the People of *Jerusalem* would not suffer there to settle, but reserved him as a Successor to *Macarius*, who knowing to be an earnest Defender of the Conclusions of the *Nicene* Council, and fearing some of the *Arian* Faction might get into his Chair, willingly acquiesced in their Choice. That *Diopolis* was a City of *Palastine*, in the Tribe of *Ephraim*, formerly called *Lydda*, which Name it changed when it grew Famous for the Idol of *Tupiter* there worshipped; in after times was more taken notice of for a Council there held against *Pelagius*, and by reason that St. *George* the Martyr who suffer'd under the Persecution of *Diocletian*, the English Patron who had large Possessions in this Country, was here Buried, it was by the Christians dwelling thereabouts, called St. *Georges* by way of Consecration to his Memory.

34. *Athanasius* being warned from *Dalmatius* to provide for his Tryal, so Indultriously ordered the Matter, that pursuing him from place to place, by good officials at length he was detected at *Tyrs*, and though he denied himself, yet being brought before *Paul* the Bishop of the place, was forced to confess himself the same Man, and how he had been wrought upon by *Eusebius*. The Emperor being hereof certified by *Macarius* a Priest, whom *Athanasius* had dispatched to the Court for this purpose, commanded *Dalmatius* to desist from any further Prosecution, and rejecting his Accusers, by very obliging Letters denied these Calumnies raised against him which wrought this effect, that both *Athanasius* and *John* the late Ordained *Meletian* Bishop confessed their fault to *Athanasius*, begged his pardon, and were reconciled to the Catholic Church. And so as *Athanasius* tells us, the Conspiracy of the *Meletians* here had its period. But the *Arians* still considering what an Adversary their Cause had of *Athanasius*, and how much

much Credit they had lost by receiving the foil so many times, would not here give over, but left they should be deprived of so fit an Instrument as *John* was, brought him about again to their Party. Then do they afresh solicit the Emperor, telling him of fresh Complaints daily coming in against *Athanasius*, both many, and of great Consequence: they assure, the Witnesses that would now appear were not mean Persons, and they pray his Majesty that a Synod may be called, and the Criminal heard in a legal way.

35. Though *Constantine* (as at this distance one may well imagine) might have had sufficient cause both to suspect their Malice, and acquit the Bishop in his own Conscience; yet growing now old he became more caute to be wrought upon, both by the Importunities of his own Relations, and the Flatteries and Courtship of those about him, Justice withal seeming to call upon him, which the name of Five Bishops, who were ready to give in the Information, seemed very much to induce him to believe. He granted therefore their Petition, and appointed a Council to be held at *Caesarea* in *Palastine*, a place picked out on purpose by *Eusebius* for the temper of the Clergy by whom he was to be judged, *Athanasius* seeing very well as Matters were devised, and how they would end; there being scarce Four Orthodox Bishops in that Country, gave his reasons to the Emperor why he might justly decline his appearance at that place. Hereat the Emperor was nettled, as conceiving his Authority injured by such a refusal, yet he betrayed not his Indignation much further than changing the place of meeting from *Caesarea* to *Tyre* (for which change also some pretence was made, that the Bishops might consecrate that Famous Church lately builded at *Hierusalem*) he commanded him to appear there at his peril, and left he should make a default, orders the Commander in chief of those Parts to bring his Person before the Council.

36. To this Council were assembled such as had been of the *Arian* Faction at *Nice*, and as *Eusebius* thought might be most for his turn, Sixty only as *Socrates* informeth, over whom he appointed *Dionysius* the Count to preside with a Band of Soldiers for a Guard. *Athanasius* perceiving the Emperours mind to be alienated from him, and that he was to be convened before his Enemies under the Moderation of Soldiers, whereby neither could the Council, such as it was, be free, debated with himself, whether he should present himself, and for Three Months not Thirty (as the Copy of *Sozomen* now hath it) deferred his appearance, by which he gained time to understand the Matters wherewith he was charged, and how to answer them. Yet left he should give his Enemies occasion to insult, and fresh Advantages whereby further to calumniate him to the Emperor, he appeared, and with him Forty seven of his Suffragan Bishops amongst whom *Potamon* and *Paphnutius* formerly mentioned, and *Macarius* his faithful Presbyter was thither brought in. Chains by the Souldiers. The Accusations were taken from the former Depositions against him in the Cafe of *Ischyra* and *Arsenius*, which though he demonstrated to be frivolous, and that Mans Ordination null, yet did he profit nothing, his Enemies being resolved, the Count taking away all Freedom, and his Souldiers offering Violence to all of the Defendants Party.

37. When the business concerning *Arsenius* came to be opened, the Dead Mans Hand pretended to be cut off from his Dead Body, was produced, wherewith *Arsenius* who came to testify in the behalf of the Bishop, presented himself showing both Hands sound and entire to the Judges. The *Arians* confounded at this sight, instead of Confession, broke out into a rage, facing him out that this was meer Enchantment and Delusion, and falling upon him, they had torn him in pieces, had not the Count interposed. As for the breaking of the Chalice, to all the soper Party the Story seemed sufficiently confuted by its own Vanity; but the *Arians* would not be content to hear, except they send some of their own Faction to see and report the Matter. This Resolution was protested against by the two *Egyptian* Bishops, who importuned both the Council and Count that so strange a Resolution might not take effect, but that all things might be referred to the cognizance of the Emperor. But when neither the *Arian* Bishops would alter their Resolutions, nor *Dionysius* the Count recall those whom they had dispatched to *Moeis*, *Athanasius* departed from *Tyre* towards *Constantinople*, to lay open to the Emperours those Outragious Proceedings. Those that were sent in the mean time to *Moeis* assisted by *Philagrius* the Prefect, and the Soldiers addicted to the *Arian* Party, refused such Clerks and others as were ready to appear in behalf of *Athanasius* and *Macarius*; but taking their

The Arian
Bishops de-
rive Athanasius
of his
Bishoprick.

Evidence from Jews, Catechumens and Heathens, at their return to Tyre gave up to their Masters a suitable Verdict, whereupon ensued a Sentence corresponding to reside at Alexandria, but John the Principal of the Meletian Faction, with others of that Gang, should be received into Communion, and all restored to their former Dignities and Preferments. Of this their Sentence and Decree they inform Constantine, as also other Bishops, whom they forbid to have any Communication whatsoever with Athanasius.

Sylvestre
Bishop of Rome
dies.
Is succeeded
by Marcus.
Then Julius.

38. Several of the honest Party shewed their dislike of those Proceedings at that Council with Indignation. Paphnutius evidently perceiving the drift of Eusebius and his Party, and heard they had got a Guard suitable to their Design, stepping to Maximus Bishop of Hierusalem, who being his Brother Confessor had lost also an Eye and a Leg in the Persecution of Maxentius, and taking him by the Hand, bad him rise up, telling him it was not fit for them who had suffered such things as they had for Christ, to abide in the company of such wicked men, forasmuch as he could not but clearly perceive how contrary to Justice the business was managed; and so departing, he told him the whole Story concerning Athanasius, to whom Maximus ever after continued a most faithful Friend. And Potamon seeing Eusebius sit in State as Judge, who formerly had denied his Saviour, and Athanasius standing as a Delinquent without any respect, though of so high a Dignity in the Church as Metropolitan of such a See, he could not refrain himself; but upbraided therewith the proud and insulting Prelate. But all to no purpose, Athanasius must be ruined, that Arius might return, and with him Arianism, into the Alexandrian Province. This year died Sylvestre Bishop of Rome at the last day of the Year, having governed that Church One and twenty Years; to whom succeeded Marcus, on the Eighteenth of the Calends of February. He died on the Nones of October, (October 7.) and after the See had been void Twenty days, Julius succeeded on the Sixth before the Calends of November, A. D. 336. V. C. 1089. the Ninth Indiction, the Fourth of the 278. Olympiad. Fl. Popilius Nepotianus and Facundus being Consuls.

Damasus.

39. The Fathers having dispatched this business, removed to Hierusalem to the Consecration of the Church upon Calvary, where they performed the Ceremony with much exactness according to the Emperours Orders. It happened in the mean while that Arius, by procurement of that Priest whom Constantia at the point of Death had commended to her Brother, was permitted to come before the Emperour, who promised him respect and countenance, provided he adhered to the Determinations of the Nicene Council. He professes to acquiesce in those Determinations, and offers to Constantine a Confession of his Faith in Writing, whereat many of the Orthodox Party quarrelled, for that it wanted the word *Consubstantial*. Hereupon the Emperour resolving to reserve the Examination of it to competent Judges, sent it to Jerusalem. The Orthodox there plainly perceived that by this new Creed, and leaving out the word *Consubstantial* (however he called the second Person God, and Begotten of his Father before all Ages) he overthrew all that the Nicene Fathers had Established, yet could they do no good, Eusebius his Party being so strong, that they approved of his Confession, and Decreed he should be received into Communion. Athanasius e're this was got to the Emperour, before whom he so laid open the Original and Progress of the Calumnies devised against him, that Constantine in great displeasure commanded his Judges to appear before him. There Eusebius the Ring-leader, with Five others of the most bold appeared, the rest slipping away to their own Churches. Now made they no mention of the breaking of the Chalice, or the matter concerning *Asterius*, but preventing the danger of being called to account for what had passed at Tyre, charged him with new and strange Matter. This was no less than that he should stop the Corn which from Egypt (the Granary of the Empire) was wont yearly to be sent to Constantinople.

Athanasius
dies.

See his
Arian. Apol.

Another
charge against
Athanasius.

Upon which
he is banished
to the island of
Cyprus.

Arius returns
to Alexandria.

40. This being attested by Five Bishops, which being formerly of his Party, had now apostatized to the Arians, the Emperour gave them credit as his Favourers, and in great wrath refusing to hear his Apology, banished him to Triers a City of the Belgick Gall, now the See of one of the Ecclesiastical Electors of the German Empire. He being banished, the Arians also procured the same Judgment to be given against his Orthodox Suffragan Bishops, and this being past, and the way made for Arius, they procure him License to return to Alexandria. There he had not long been, but he raised a Tumult in the City, most of the

Inhabitants

There is sent
for to Constantine
himself.

And the Bishop
commanded by
the Emperour
to receive Arius
into Communion.

Which is
prevented by
Arius his sud-
den death.

Constantine
is banished to
Nicomedia.

Inhabitants whereof refused to Communicate with him, affirming that as to Religion they were of the same Judgment as formerly, and being much exasperated for the Banishment of their Bishop. The news coming to Constantine, the Emperour sends for Arius and John the Meletian Bishop his great Friend and abetter. Much of the blame lighting upon the Meletians, he was banished, and Arius kept still at Constantinople, where presently great fires happened again about him, some remaining steadfast to the Nicene Creed, and others affirming the opinion of Arius most agreeable to the Truth. At this time Alexander, who a little before had succeeded Metrophanes, governed that Church, a Man very Pious and Orthodox. Him Eusebius threatened force, in case he would not receive the Arch-Heretic into Communion, which he as constantly refusing, till the Matter was brought before the Emperour. Constantine calls for Arius, and taking notice that where-ever he goes still Tumults follow him; he asked him whether or no he did really imbrace and hold the Nicene Faith. He professing that he did, the Emperour required his Subscription, and when he had as willing, set his Hand to the Articles, to take away all scruple from Constantine, made Oath also, as he was enjoined. But it is said that he equivocated in this latter, having his private Opinion in his own Sense in Writing under his Arm when he made his Oath, and that he Swore in relation to that, and not to what he Subscribed in the Emperours presence.

See. lib. 1.
c. penult.
Theod. 1. c. 14.

41. The Emperour now satisfied about Arius his Judgment, commands Alexander the Bishop of Constantinople to receive him into Communion. He seeing now his Disputes would not prevail, and that there was no struggling with the Emperour, betook himself to Prayer, wherein he spent several days and nights, desiring of Almighty God, that if it was his pleasure to permit Arius to come to the Communion, he might be taken first out of the way, and never fee it; but if he intended Mercy to his Church, to cut off that Man. The Lords day being come, he passed early in the Morning (that he might get into the Church before Alexander) being conducted in great State, till he came to Constantine's Forum, where whether naturally or out of fear (which sometimes produceth such an effect) he found himself seized with a Lasse, whereupon being directed to the common Privy near at hand, there together with Excrements he voided his Entrails, Guts, Spleen, Liver and all, and was found dead in a frange and horrible manner. Sozomen Writes that this place for a long time continued very remarkable, so as to be pointed at by all Passengers, and so execrable that no Man would make use of it; till at length a rich Arian that he might abolish the memory of the thing, purchased the House, pulled it down, and raised other Buildings in the room of it. But the horror of this Mans Death had this effect, that many formerly in Error seeing God thus bear witness to the Truth, were converted to it; those of Eusebius his Party were stricken with great Terror, and the Emperour himself was more confirmed in the Orthodox Faith.

See. 2. c. 26.

42. But he himself lived not long after, a Judgment as some supposed for his too much easiness (to speak modestly) towards that Heretic, and his very unequal carriage towards Athanasius. Feeling himself sick, he left Constantinople and failed to Helempolis, where he made use of the hot Baths near the Town, but when they gave him no Relief, growing still sicker, he left them, and went to Nicomedia, where in the Suburbs he called the Bishops together, and signified to them his desire of Baptism, saying it is now time that at last we should receive that Sign of Immortality, telling them that he had so long deferred it, because he intended to have been Baptized in the River Jordan, after the Example of our Saviour. His Baptism being performed, he gave great sign of incredible Joy, and a little after that died; as writeth Eusebius or the Author of the History of his Life, with whose Narration do consent all the Antient Ecclesiastical Writers, both as to place and time, that his Baptism happened both a little before he died, and that at Nicomedia; although Pope Hadrian and some Modern Writers, as Baronius, Genebrard, and others contend that he was Baptized at Rome in the Nineteenth Year of his Reign; and Binius, who hath made Annotations upon the Councils strangely affirms that the Nicene Council by the consent of all Writers was held after that Constantine was Baptized. Their Arguments are drawn from a supposed Leprosy, wherewith they make the Emperour to be struck for his heinous Sins, as Persecuting of the Christians till about that time, and the Murder of Crispus his Son, with others whom he most unjustly put to death. Sylvestre Bishop of Rome, who as they pretend Baptized him, is said to have fled to the Mountains, being forced from his Flock by his Persecution,

See. lib. 1. c. 26.
See. 2. c. 14.
Theod. 1. c. 14.
Theod. 1. c. 14.
Theod. 1. c. 14.
Theod. 1. c. 14.
Theod. 1. c. 14.

Perfection, where not only the content of History, but all the several Editions of *Constantine* by their Date do clearly evidence that he was converted long before this time, and *Crispus* his Son, as appears by the Consular Tables, was alive after this Year. But for the supportment of a spurious Council, which making much for the Papal Interest, they would have to follow this Baptism and held at *Rome* by *Silvester*, as also to gain credit to the Donation of *Constantine*, which as an act of Gratitude must also have ensued this his Baptism; they take those Arguments from *Zozimus* a professed Enemy both of this Emperor and of all Christianity, to the disparagement of the Catholick Cause, which they would make truckle under that of a Private Church. But to all their Arguments and Weak Pretences, our *Dr. Crackanthorpe* hath abundantly answered in his Defence of *Constantine*.

43. The Baptism indeed of *Constantin* at *Nicomedia* being performed by *Eusebius*, Bishop of that *City*, as is supposed at the first fight would seem to determine that question, whether or no all his actions against *Athanasius*, and his siding with that Bishop and his Party, may not justly denominate him an *Arian*, at least as to us, whose Capacity reacheth no further than the bounds of Probability. But although we may observe that in his old Age he was more easy and lay open to the Craft, Insinuations and Flatteries of those about him (and amongst the rest those of that Courty Prelate *Eusebius*) which Heathen rd Writers have also taken notice of; yet have we sufficient evidence to acquit him from the guilt of that Heresie. For his constant adhering to the *Nicene* Faith is even in the Story of *Athanasius* all along perspicuous, against whom *Eusebius* never durst ingage, whatever his private designs were, in the Notion of an *Arian*, pretended a love only to good Order, Discipline and Tranquillity of the Church, and upon pretence of *Athanasius* his Male-administration, raised such a Storm against that good Bishop. The Emperour having to do with so strong a Faction in his Court, which was formerly bred through his natural affection to his Sister, and now carried on by the cunning of *Eusebius*, was drawn to do many things which really tended to the Service of that Party. But these Persons appeared not to him in their true Drefs, they acted not this part but in Disguises and Vizards, they walked one way, but he being in fight ever looked another. During his whole Reign *Eusebius* and his Party durst not recant, his Recantation ever pretending an adherence to the Determinations of the *Nicene* Fathers. The Emperours Inclinations were for Peace, and for burying of all old Displeasures, his Age deprived him of his former Activity and Sagacity, whereby he was more easily wrought upon, and it is clear that he never countenanced *Eusebius* but as a Catholick and Orthodox Bishop.

44. The Laws also made by him, declare him to have been of this Disposition. For in his one and twentieth year, in his own and his Childrens name, he (a) forbids that such Privileges and Immunities as he had conferred upon Orthodox Clerks, should be transferred upon Hæreticks, by which must be meant the *Arians*, as well as others, who this foregoing year had been declared such by the *Nicene* Fathers. Being sensible also what Heartburnings, Divisions, Scandalous Words and Works thole Differences in Religion had raised, not only betwixt Christians and Heathens, but Christians themselves, anathematizing and nick-naming one another, by a Law made in the Twenty third year, he commands that Infamous Libels should not be examined and canvased but burnt, as he formerly at the Council of *Nice* had never looked in, but burnt such Complaints and Petitions as the Bishops had presented against one another. Indeed the time was late to which he deferred his Baptism, but it was not his fingle and peculiar fault, it was a bad Custom which much obtained at that time amongst all sorts of Professors; not only Emperours but others who afterwards did especial Service in the Church, long deferring the receiving that Christian Character, as we shall see hereafter. This may diminish if not quite remove the blame cast upon this Emperour, who for further excuse pleaded a distemper (though not necessary yet something plausible) of being Baptized in that place where his Saviour had formerly submitted to that Ordinance. However, the Church of Christ having received such and so great things from his Patronage and Protection, who was the first Baptized if not the first Christian Emperour of all others; the great distance of time betwixt his Age and ours ought not so to abolish our Sense of those Matters, as either to despise him, or be unthankful to God for so excellent an Instrument, much less ought we to quarrel with those Writers who having felt as well the smart of the former Persecutions, and undergone

the

He is cleared
from the Asper-
sion of *Ari-*
anism.

His adhering
to the *Nicene*
Creed.

And his Laws
againſt Hære-
ticks.

† *Vixerit aut*
Constantinum
10. annis præ-
stantissimum,
11. sequensibus
latronem, 10.
ultimis pupil-
um fuisse.

(a) *Cod. Inst.*
l. tit. 5. §. 1.

Cod. Theod.
9. 1. 34. §. 1.

the heat of the day of Trial, as the comfort of those Refreshments the Church received from God by his means, both praise the Author and commend the Instrument.

45. But the Cardinal Annalfist warm in his Purple, and not so sensible of the benefit received by *Conflantine*, because he never felt the need of it, falls very foul upon *Eusebius* Bishop of *Caefarea* the Author of the Ecclesiastical History, and as he supposed, of the Book called the Life of *Conflantine*. His Language towards such a Reverend Bishop cannot be excus'd of Incivility, giving him the Lye, fo often calling him the *Architect* and *Deviser* of *Lyes*, with many other extravagant Epithets, as making his Histories but a Fable of Lyes, and compos'd rather for the eversion than the Publication of true Story; though he will have them truly and clearly to hold out and maintain his own Affection against their Author, that being not only a *Lyar* but an *Haeretic*, an *Arian* and *Theopasite*, one *worthily cast out of the Church*, and as such to be *rejefted by all Readers*. But all have not been of the Cardinals opinion, though *Eusebius* be not to be patroniz'd in all Particulars. St. *Hierome* who was a more capable Judge, as living near those times, faith, *He hath excellently written the Ecclesiastical History*, and commends him both for that and his *Chronicon*. *Evagrius Scholasticus* beginneth his own History thus: *Eusebius* Pampphilus a Man without all peradventure as in other things profound, so in Penning excellent, is of such efficacy in his Works, that although he cannot make the Readers perfect Christians, yet can he so draw them by persuasion, that with prompt and willing minds they will embrace the Christian Faith. *Eusebius*, *Socrates*, *Sozomenus* and *Theodoret*, have written most exquisitely of the Incarnation of our most loving Saviour, &c. And to pass by many Modern Writers of the Cardinals perswasion as to Religion, remarkable is the opinion of one of their most *grave* and *Judicious* Authors, whose judgment is, that *Eusebius* was a Man of great diligence and labour, of exceeding variety of reading, and of very grave judgment. Neither do I know, faith he, whether any Author either in the Latin or Greek Church, though he strive never so much, can leave more excellent Monuments of time.

46. Pope *Gelasius* indeed with his Seventy two Bishops doth censure the History of *Eusebius*, but it is only in respect of the Story of *Abragars* and some few things more, not condemning the whole or the greatest part thereof. But the Fathers of the Second *Nicene* Synod struck him dead by their Decree that rejects and anathematizeth his Book, yea, all that read them, calling him *Hæretick*, an *Arian* and a *Theopasick*, or one who taught that *Christ* had no *Soul*, but the *Godhead* supplied that *Office*, that so the *Deity* might be said to suffer. But his Crime was, he † had taught that no Image could fully express *Christ*, being both *God* and *Man*, and the good Fathers not enduring that any should cross their Doctrine of Images, thus brand him, making him both an *Arian* and a *Theopasick*; that is both an *Arian* and not an *Arian*, both a *Theopasick* and not a *Theopasick*; for if an *Arian*, then could not the *Deity* inform the Body, *Christ* not being really *God* according to him, and if a *Theopasick*, then the *Deity* informing the Body, he must have been perfect *God* though not perfect *Man*, and of the same substance with the *Father*, or else there must have been two real and perfect *Deities*. This *Hæresie* (a) of the *Theopasicks* sprung now up till about the Five hundred and thirteenth year of our Lord, more than One hundred and sixty years after the Death of *Eusebius*, who in all his Writings doth rightly and truly teach two distinct (b) Natures to be in *Christ*, and the (c) Divine Nature to be incapable of Passion, Affection or Mutilation. It is true that he inclined to *Arianism* before the *Nicene* Council and was an earnest defender of *Arius*; but this was but till that Synod, he being Reformed, continued Orthodox ever after, as both his own Writings and others (d) Authors abundantly testify, together with the Suffrage of *Constantine* the Emperor himself, (e) who gives not only his own opinion of the *Man*, but that also of the Catholic Church. Of late times (f) *Sixtus Senensis* a Man of infinite Reading, yet (abating his Parts) of great judgment, is of the same mind; whence it appears that, no time indeed he was an *Hæretick*. By ignorance and Infirmary, falling into that Error, he did not through Pride, Arrogance and Obstinacy therein continue; but now the safe being defined by the Church he both conformed his Belief and Deportment to its Decrees, and dying Catholic, was Canonized for a Saint by the Greek Church, the Commemoration of his Death being celebrated on the Twenty first day of June in *Palestine*.

Temporibus
eversor, calumniator
maliciosus, profusus
adulator, &c.

*Ecclesiasticam
Hist. politice
texuit. Ep. ad
Pammach. &
Apol. 1. adver
sus Ruffinum.*

† *Canis lo-*
Theol. l. 11. c. 6.

† Citantur
verba AE. 6

(2) *Prato*
in Thes.

(b) Ensch. H.
L. 1. a. 1.

(c) *Apud* 3

(d) *Idem* in the same manner.

Theod. l. 1. c.
 (c) Epist. Co.

an (c) *Epist. Co.*
ne *ad Euseb.* v
Const. l. 3. c.

(f) In *blitorbecia* in

So little did the Consideration of his having been against Images, his telling the plain truth about the Baptism of *Constantine*, and his not telling that which never was (*viz.* about the Donation) work with uninterested and unbiased Persons.

47. It is not the least part of the Apology for *Constantine*, that he caused his Three Sons *Constantine*, *Constantius* and *Constans* to be trained up in the Orthodox Faith. Of those Three two retained the Principles they had been bred in, *viz.* *Constantine* and *Constans*, but *Constantius* revolted and turned a bitter Persecutor of the Church. It happened very ill that his Father made him the Executor of his Will and Testament, which he committed to the Hands of his Sisters Priest, whom she at her Death had commended to his care, commanding him to deliver it to no Mans Hand but to his Son *Constantius*, hereby as it were commending the Man to his Son, if not as a Counsellor yet as an especial Friend, whereby he got opportunity to insinuate into the Son, and inflame those Principles which he durst never own to the Father. Hereupon ensued most sad and dismal Consequences to the Orthodox Party, this Priest having gained Interest by Degrees; for first he tampered with the Courtiers, then having made a Party amongst them, betook himself to the Emperors and the Ladies, but especially he inveigled the Eunuchs about the Emperour, who were the great Instruments which he and *Eusebius* used for carrying on their Designs, being near to the Person, and having perpetually the Ear of the Prince. But in the mean time *Athanasius* is released from Banishment by the Emperour *Constantine*, in whose Dominions the City *Triers* was, to which he had been confined. He sent him back to *Alexandria* with his Letters Commendatory to the Inhabitants, telling them they could not but know that his Father did not banish their Bishop out of displeasure, but sent him out of the way of danger, and that when he died, he left it to him in charge, that *Athanasius* should be restored, in pursuance of which command, and to answer their desires, he now sent him to them. And so returned *Athanasius* to his See, after he had been absent two Years and four Months, and was received by his People with great Joy, all sorts and degrees flocking about to see him.

48. *Constantius* did not at all hinder his Restitution, nor the return of those other Bishops which had been his Companions in Faith and Sufferings, though least he should seem to withstand his dying Fathers orders, and should thereby disoblige his Elder Brother. But long it was not before *Eusebius* the Priest, and others of that Party began to insinuate into this Prince, that he was by all means to be driven from that Church. "Besides their old Calumnies they alleged great Seditions and Slaughters to have happened at *Alexandria* through the unwillingness of the People to receive him again; they affirm that being deprived by one Council, he cannot Canonically be restored without another, and they again accuse him of defrauding the Poor of *Egypt* and *Lybia* of that Corn which through the Munificence of *Constantine* was wont to be bestowed upon them. To make their Party more strong, they sent their Messengers into the West to the other two Emperours, whom they labour to possess with the same prejudice against *Athanasius*, as also *Julius* the Bishop of *Rome*; but all this to no purpose, the Bishop also sending some of his Clerks, who easily wiped off all these Slanders. But, Matters grew still worse, the *Arians* insinuating themselves more and more into all Offices of the Church, and by feigned Accusations thrusting out such of the Orthodox Party as would most oppose their design. *Alexander* the good Bishop of *Constantinople* they much grudged his Seat, but let him alone, as expecting Death should save them the trouble of ousting him. This shortly came to pass, and when the old Man saw his end approaching, as careful to have some honest Man to succeed him, he named two: one *Macedonius* whom he thought most acceptable at Court, and *Paulus* whom for his Principles of Religion he commended to his Clergy.

49. *Paul* a Priest of his Church, and a Man eminent for Learning and Piety was accordingly chosen, Admitted and Ordained by the Bishops there Assembled, according to the Canons of the *Nicene* Council. The *Arians* having tickled for *Macedonius* were very much concerned for the Defeat, and *Constantius* the Emperour at that time coming to the City, most willingly eased them of their grief, calling an Assembly of *Arian* Bishops, wherein *Paul* was removed, and to his place preferred *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, the great Patron of the Faction, than

than which they could not have a more notable advantage: For now he hath not only an opportunity for residing constantly at Court, but more Power and Authority to back his purposes, which he quickly improves to the Deprivation of *Eusebius* Bishop of *Antioch*, who had been very eminent in the Council of *Nice*, and therefore they concluded that as well as *Athanasius* and *Paul* were to be removed; laying to his Charge Adultery, *Sabellianism* and other lesser Crimes, they got him Banished to *Trajanople* a City of *Thrace*, where he died and was Buried. After him they sent many others into Banishment, some under pretence of various Crimes, others without any thing laid to their Charge, but all in truth for defending the *Nicene Faith*, those of the *Arian* party though never so despicable, being put in their Places. And from this time it is, as *Baronius* observeth, that, what St. *Hierome* hath said in his Continuation of *Eusebius* his Chronicon, concerning the *Arian* Persecution, is to take Place, *viz.* That henceforth this Impiety being supported by *Constantius* the Emperour, Persecuted with Banishment Imprisonment and other various sorts of Afflictions and Miseries first *Athanasius*, and then all other Bishops that were not of that Hæretical Party. This was the Fourth Year of *Constantius* (though St. *Hierome* places the beginning of those things in his Second) A. D. 340. of *Rome* the 1093, the last of the 279. Olympiad, the 13 Indiction, Fl. *Septimius Acyndius*, and L. *Aradius Restinus Valerius Proculus* being Consuls.

50. This same Year dyed *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, Author of the Ecclesiastical History, of whom we lately spoke, to whose Character had *Baronius* added his Industry in this particular, and confessed how much he was beholden to that very Person whom he had endeavoured to render so odious, it might have served for an Epitaph more expressive both of the Bishops desert and the Cardinals gratitude. But whilst these Bishops leave either their Sees or this World, *Athanasius* (as great Bodies have slower motions) a Person though more envied and Maligned, yet of more Interest and Authority, was not so easily removed from his Bishoprick. *Julius* Bishop of *Rome* receiving complaints against him from the *Arians*, as also his defensive Arguments, is by both Parties chosen Arbitrator in the controversy, and desired to call a Synod, wherein *Athanasius* his Cause might again be debated: He accordingly as he was Impowered calls a Synod at *Rome*, and appoints a time for all concerned to be present; *Athanasius* made his appearance, and was ready to answer, but none of his Accusers would come, though he staid for them a Year and a half, during which time he is said to have Communicated to the *Italians* those Monastical precepts which he had received from *Antony* in the Wilderness, with a Copy of the Creed, still going under his Name, which being written in Latin continued long in the Archives of the *Roman* Church as *Baronius* tells us. The *Arians* unbethought themselves that they should assuredly receive the Foil at *Rome*, the Bishops of the Western Church being generally Orthodox, they considered the Cause should only be decided by Ecclesiastics, where there should be no Count to preside, nor any Soulders to affright and threaten their Antagonists, by which means they had formerly had the better of him. They pretended they could not safely Travel to *Rome* by reason of the *Persian* War, and detaining the Messenger which *Julius* the Bishop had sent for them, beyond the very day appointed, for their appearance, procured *Constantius* to summon them to *Antioch*, to the Dedication of that magnificent Church called *Aureum Domini*um, formerly began by *Constantine* and now finished by *Constantius* his Son.

51. The *Arians* glad of such excuse for going to the *Roman* Synod, assembled together, to the Number of Thirty Six Bishops, with whom met so many of the Orthodox Party as to make it up Ninety Seven, or Ninety Nine. But many refused to be present (as *Maximus* Bishop of *Jerusalem* for one), knowing before hand how matters would be determined; others were seized on in their Journey and Imprisoned, and as for *Julius* the *Roman* Bishop, he neither was present, nor sent any in his room; however there met enough and more to do the business designed by the *Arians*, who overpowered the Orthodox, though not in Number, yet in Confidence, Refutation, and the favour of the Emperour, by whom their Decrees and Resolutions were made Authentick though Excanonical. Now besides the charge formerly laid against *Athanasius* at *Tyre*, they make the same "complaints against him which they had sent to *Julius*, as that he had broken the Canons, thrusting himself into his former Function without the Admission and Consent of the Council, rushing into the Church of *Alexandria*, after his return from Exile; moreover that he had done many acts of Violence and Injustice

Athanasius released from Banishment.

Vic. Const. l. 4. c. 12.

Sec. l. 2. c. 2. Theod. l. 2. c. 1.

Eusebius Bishop of *Cæsarea* dyed.

A Synod is called at *Rome*, where the *Arians* come not.

Alexander Bishop of *Constantinople* dyed.

Paul chose in his stead, but ousted by the *Arians*; and *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* translated thither.

Sec. l. 2. c. 4. Sec. l. 3. c. 4.

Another at *Antioch*, where the *Arians* prevailed.

Athanas. Apol. de ep. and fals. argum.

Athanas. Apol.

Al. An. D. 340.

Sec. c. 8. Graec.

"justice, having raised Tumults among the People, wherein some were Slain, others Imprisoned and beaten, and others he had forced to answer at the Bar. As for the matters objected against him at Tyre, they had been over and over Confuted, partly by their own Folly, and partly the confession of the Parties themselves that were brought against him. The report concerning the Tumults was Convicted of Falseness, by the Letter of the *Alexandrian* Church, wherein *Constantius* is told that true Catholics use no such Weapons in their Warfare as Death, Imprisonment, Bonds or corporal Punishments; concerning which the Civil Magistrate can give best account: And as for the business concerning his intrusion into his Church, without leave or order; it's clear enough that he was not banished by the Emperor, in order to what was done at Tyre, the Matter whereof depended upon Appeal before him: but upon new Matter Originally rising before him, which being of a Political consideration, concerning the publick Peace, the Emperor might as well restore *Athanasius*, as banish him, without a Council.

52. *Athanasius* appeared not himself on purpose as some think, that the matter might not be decided. *Constantius* sent to Apprehend him, but he kept himself out of the way, and thereupon was Condemned both as guilty and Contumacious. To Succeed him was chosen one *Eusebius*, born at *Edesa* in *Mesopotamia*, who knowing well how he should be received at *Alexandria*, whilst *Athanasius* was yet alive, plainly refused their offer: Hethen is made Bishop of *Emisa*, and *Athanasius* his Chair is conferred on one who will not refuse it, as made of fit Mettle for such an Exploit, by Name *Gregory*, a Man altogether unknown, both to the Church and Province of *Alexandria*. Having dispatched *Athanasius*, they go about to overthrow the *Nicene Faith*, but such Reputation it had got, and they themselves had hitherto made Profession of it, that it must be covertly by degrees and by way of Infatuation; as all Parties and Sects hate to be called by the Name of their Founders, they disclaim that of *Arian*s; even the Dignity of their Episcopal Office forbidding they should become Proficients to a Presbyter: They frame a Creed of their own, as scornful to Truckle under the *Nicene Council*, which is so plausibly Penned, as yet to beware of the word *Consubstantial*, or to own the Son of the same Substance and Essence with the Father. This Creed they send in an Epistle to the Churches throughout every City. But continuing at *Antioch* a little longer, and unbending themselves, they in a manner condemn it, framing a new one; for being conscious that they had spoken too Jejunally concerning the Divinity of the Second Person, and thereby could not possibly shun that Censure which they had indeavourd to prevent, they now profess to hold that Faith which had been delivered by the Holy Scriptures Prophets and Apostles, and so own the God-head of the Son, and yield to the word Substance; yet they acknowledge him not of very same Substance with the Father, but as it were the Image thereof without any dissimilitude. To those they subscribed and amongst them *Gregory* with the Title of Bishop of *Alexandria*, though as yet he had not seen the place; but not content with those two (thinking it seems that by the later they had given too much to the Son of God, as by the first they had ascribed too little) *Theophrastus* Bishop of *Tyara* composed another Form to which they assented; and still not satisfied, as not knowing where to fix, *Athanasius* tells us, they composed a fourth Form of Confession, which they sent to *Constantine* the Emperor into *Gall*, and dispersed all over the Western Churches.

53. Besides those four Creeds, they framed Twenty five Canons, against which, though several of the Ancients except, as composed by Hereticks, yet by old Collectors of Canons have they been gathered together, as made by Orthodox Bishops, and in the Council of *Chalcedon* two of them are cited word for word. For Hereticks may decree other things orthodoxly which are not material to the thing in Controversie, and the *Arians* cunningly caused the Names of Bishops eminent for their Zeal towards the *Nicene Faith*, to be set to the Epistle prefixed to the Canons, omitting those of *Eusebius*, *Theognis*, *Maris* and others, the most notorious of all *Arians*. And that they might not seem in the least to thwart the Council of *Nice*, but as concerned for its Authority, their first Canon makes it unlawful to Celebrate *Easter* otherwise than that Council had determined. The Second ordains that Persons Excommunicated shall not be absolved without satisfaction made, the contrary being now practiced by a new Sect lately sprung up, called *Antropomorphites*; as also that none Communicate with Excommunicated Persons. The Third commands that no Clerk remove to another Church, without his Diocefan leave, and there continue. The Fourth

Ordains that no suspended Bishop or Clerk offer to execute his Function. The Fifth forbids Priests to separate themselves, and erect Altars amongst themselves in contempt of the Bishops. The Sixth prohibits any to receive such as are Excommunicated by the Bishops, till they be either reconciled to them, or restored by Synods. By the Seventh, no stranger (Clerk) is to be received without Letters Commendatory. By the Eighth the *Chorepiscopi* are only Licensed, no Inferiour Priests, to give general Letters. The Ninth sets Limits to the power of a Bishop, those of his own Dioceses forbidding him to meddle with matters appertaining to the Metropolitan, whom it forbids to deal in things proper to him, as such, without the Council and Assistance of the rest of the (Priests or) Bishops.

54. Their Tenth Canon is for the Restraintment of the *Chorepiscopi*, who though they were Consecrated as Bishops, yet it pleased the holy Synod (as these Men call themselves) that they should recognize the mean of their Power, governing the Churches in the Country Villages committed to them, and content themselves with that Employment, and the ordination of Readers, Subdeacons and Exorcists, not presuming to Ordain Priests or Deacons without the Bishop of the Dioceses, upon pain of deprivation. And the *Chorepiscopi* they command be ordained by the Bishop to whom he is subject. The Eleventh punishes such Bishop or Clerk with deposition, as without the Letters of the Synod and Bishops of the Province, especially the Metropolitan, shall go and solicit the Emperor about business. This they did to take away benefit of Appeals from the Orthodox. And this Canon was objected against *Chrysostom* by his Adversaries, to whom he replied that it was made by *Arians*, and therefore was deservely repealed by the Council of *Sardica*. But more to their purpose by their Twelfth Canon they deprive such Priests and Bishops of all hope of restitution, who being condemned by their Bishops or by Synods shall not abide by their determinations, but have recourse unto the Emperor. The Thirteenth prohibits Bishops to Ordain out of their own Province, except they be sent for by Letters from the Metropolitan and his Suffragans, under Penalty of the Ordinations being Null, and Censures inflicted upon their own Persons. The Fourteenth determines that in case of Tryal of a Bishop by his Comprovincials, part be for him, and part against him, the Metropolitan is to call other Bishops to his assistance out of other Provinces, who in conjunction with the former are to decide the controversy. The Fifteenth Confirms what is done against any Bishop by the Universal consent of the Bishops of the same Province.

55. The Sixteenth Canon commands that if a Nominal Bishop (having no Dioceses) intrude himself into a Vacant Church without the Consent and Decree of a complete Synod, he shall by force be thence ejected, although the People make choice of him for their Pastor. Now a perfect Synod, that is to be understood where the Metropolitan presides. By the Seventeenth it is decreed that if any Bishop ordained to a particular Dioceses, neglect the charge thereof, or refuse to take the care upon him, he shall be removed from Communion till such he either execute his Office, or the pleasure of a Provincial Synod concerning him be known: But in case he be thence kept by force, or otherwise not by any fault of his, the Eighteenth Canon takes care that he be elsewhere capable both of Honour and Ministerial Function, provided that he be not pragmatical in the Church where he is, and submit himself to what shall be determined in the Provincial Synod. The Nineteenth Enacts that no Bishop be Ordained without a Synod, and the presence of the Metropolitan. The Twentieth Ordains that for dispatch of Church business, that Bishops meet in Synods twice a Year throughout the Provinces. By the Twenty first Bishops are forbidden to change their Parishes Dioceses i. e. either by constraint of the People or compulsion of their Fellow-Bishops, according to the ancient appointment in this Case. By the Twenty Second they are Inhibited from intermeddling in another Dioceses; from ordaining any Priests or Deacons subject to any other Bishop, without his directions and consent, upon pain of a Nullity, and Censures to be inflicted by the Synod.

56. The Twenty Third Canon makes it unlawful for any Bishop to appoint his Successor although at point of Death: This being a breach of the Law Ecclesiastical, which makes this appertain to a Synod, and the resolution of Bishops, who in a Vacancy have Authority to promote such as be worthy. The Twenty Fourth gives charge to Priests and Deacons to take notice of Goods belonging to Churches, that in case of the Death of the Incumbent Bishop there be no confusion, that neither his Goods be seized on in right of the Church, nor such as

really belong to the Church be imbezeld by pretence of his Interest. The Twenty Fifth and last gives power to the Bishop to dispence the Goods of the Church to those that have need, and to supply himself with things necessary, but in case either he himself or his Domesticks, Sons or Kindred, by his permission make wast of those things, and convert them that belong to the Church into their own private use, either the Bishop or his Presbyters so doing to the great loss of the Power and Scandal of the Ministerial Function, it subjects them to the Censure of a Provincial Synod. To these Canons Thirty Bishops are said to have Subscribed, amongst which some were of the Orthodox Party; although some, if not most of them, as is clear from the History of this affair were made to entrap them. The Sum of the Councils made by *Carranza*, tells us that this Council of *Antioch* was approved by the Sixth general Council summoned to *Constantinople*, and Celebrated in *Trullis*; as appeareth by the Second Canon of the Greek Edition, concerning which we shall enquire hereafter: And also by Pope *Dionysius*, as appeareth by *Eusebius* in his Ecclesiastical History-book 7. * *Cb. 24* and 25. Than which nothing can be more ridiculous: For how could *Eusebius* write of this Council who was dead the Year before? That Council which *Eusebius* writeth of in those Chapters was held against the Heresie of *Paulus Samosatanus*, about the Twelfth Year of *Gallienus* the Emperour, when *Dionysius* was Bishop of *Rome*, A. D. 264 Just Seventy fix Years before this other, for which this *Scelus* strangely mistakes it.

57. But some of those Canons were also designed against certain Heretics newly crept up in the Church, a sign that Thieves may fall out when they have several Ends and Interests. There was one *Andreas* born, as *Epiphanius* writes, in *Mesopotamia*, who being of a very strict Life and Zealous, did declaim against the looseness of Ecclesiastical Persons; that for his freedom of Speech being hated and persecuted, he separated from the Church, and in his old Age was banished by *Constantius* into *Scythia*; the Bishops having accused him of a designed Rebellion: Having many Followers he is said in *Scythia* to have Erected many Monasteries, and Travelling farther into *Gothia*, by his Preaching to have Converted many to the Faith; in great admiration amongst all Men for his extraordinary Zeal and Sanctity. But his zeal was not according to knowledge, teaching that because it is said *God made Man after his own Image*; *God had the former Shape and Members of a Man*. He also taught that *Easter* was to be kept on the Fourteenth Moon, as the Jews observed it, to oppose which opinion, the First of those Canons seemeth to be made, and that *absolution* was to be granted to Offenders without any Satisfaction to the Church in token of Penitence; to obviate which Doctrine they framed their Second Canon. He is blamed for condemning the Riches of the Clergy, for holding that darkness, Fire and Water were uncreated. His Followers from his own Name were called *Andiani*, but especially from his opinion concerning the Form of God *Anthropomorphites*. They kept themselves separate from the Church, because Users of wicked Men were suffered therein, but very few of them remained in the time of *Epiphanius*.

58. But the Synod of *Antioch* being concluded after some Months, the Bishops returned to their Sees, and *Eusebius* the Ringleader of the *Arians* went to his long Home, or to his own Place; dying immediately after the Council broke up, as * *Socrates* tells us. Being rid of him the Orthodox party now again made choice of *Paul*, who had been formerly Elected; and the *Arians* pitcht upon *Macedonius*, whereupon ensueth such Tumults that many of both sides thereby perished, and *Hermogenes* a Commander, who taking a journey into *Thrace*, was ordered to take *Constantinople* in his way, and displace *Paul*, had first the house wherein he was Fired over his head, and then was pulled out and kill'd by the incensed Multitude. *Constantius* upon report hereof, came from *Antioch* to *Constantinople*, where he thrust *Paul* out of the Church, and to punish the Citizens took from them 40000 measures of Corn, viz. half of the quantity that his Father had given them daily for ever, to be sent from *Alexandria*, and charged upon the Imperial Revenue rising from *Aegypt*: He deferred to nominate *Macedonius* their Bishop, being very angry not only for accepting the Place without his knowledge and consent, but in respect of those that were slain in the Content betwixt him and his Antagonists; yet he gave him leave to execute his Function, in that Church only where he had been chosen Bishop, and returned back to *Antioch*. And now must we return with him, and thence where we left, prosecute the Story of *Athanasius*.

59. The *Arians* having held their Meeting at *Antioch*, and refused to appear at *Rome* at a Synod, to the calling of which they themselves had given occasion, by referring the Matter to the cognizance of *Julius*; he in a Synod of Fifty Bishops examined the Matter concerning *Athanasius*, pronounced him innocent, and received him into Communion; together with *Marcellus* Bishop of *Anycra* in *Galatia* the lesser, and many other Bishops and Presbyters condemned and out'd by the Heretical Party. But the *Arians* hearing this news at *Antioch* where yet they continued were very wroth; and sending back the two Priests he had sent to them, whom they had retained on purpose all this while, somewhat sharply expostulated with the Bishop. They complained that the time set them for appearance was too short, and that he had taken upon him to absolve *Athanasius* and the rest, signifying that if any were banished the Church, and Excommunicated by their Decree and Censure, it was not his part to intermeddle, nor to take cognizance of their Sentence, no more than when his Predecessor had removed *Novatus* out of the Church of *Rome*, they had resisted and contari'd his doings. In the mean time *Gregory* the appointed Successor of *Athanasius* goes down to take Possession of the Church of *Alexandria*, where he is gladly received by the *Arians*, and as earnestly rejected by the Orthodox, who were the more concerned because *Athanasius* their true and lawful Pastor was now amongst them; being returned from *Rome* upon notice of the Resolution taken at *Antioch* to assert his just Title and Interest against this Intruder. But *Gregory* had the advantage, bringing with him Letters from the Assembly of *Antioch*, the Emperours Mandate, and being guarded by *Philargius* the Praefectus Augustalis, who according to orders received from the Prince, had with an Army of Five thousand Men brought him to *Alexandria*. Horrid Outrages were committed by both Parties to the disgrace of the Christian Profession, but especially by the *Gregorians* for the better Celebration of *Easter*, which this Year fell on April 11. *Athanasius* finding the City too hot for him, was forced to fly, and returned as fast as he could to *Rome*, whence, that he might not be prevented by some false account from the *Gregorians*, he wrote his Epistle to all Orthodox Christians a little before the Death of *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, for publick satisfaction he wrote in this Epistle such things in haste as in his other Writings he communicates more fully, especially in his Epistle to those that lived Solitarily, or Monastical Lives wherein he compriseth such things as were done by the *Arians* against the Orthodox Party, especially those of the Church of *Alexandria*.

60. *Gregory* being got into Possession of that Church, made a Progress in the Government thereof suitable to his beginning, managing his Office like an Heretic and a Tyrant. In the mean while those of his Party perceiving that wherever they had pretended, yet they suffered in Reputation as *Arians*, a Character they shunned, as ignominious to their Episcopal Degree, to receive a Denomination from a meer Presbyter, and one who was infamous both in his Life and Death, they therefore agree once more to meet at *Antioch*. There they frame another Confession of Faith, so exceeding long and tedious, that it got the Epithere of *maxigelenon*, and this they sent to the Western Bishops for their Approbation. But they misd of their design herein also, being still unfortunate in all their Creeds. For the Cheat was easily perceived, they having again in this omitted the word *Consubstantial*, although they heaped great Epithers and Titles upon the Son of God; and this seems the true reason why the Western Bishops rejected their Creed, though they might pretend they were not well skilled in their Terms and Propriety of the Language, and thereby put them off, referring themselves to the *Nicene* Council as sufficient without any new Glosses and Interpretations; but that their Ignorance in the Greek Tongue should be the only cause, as *Socrates* saith it was, is very improbable, the times were not so illiterate, nor Intercourse betwixt the Eastern and Western Churches so stopp'd up, as to give the least countenance to such an Assertion. This Synod (to which assembled Bishops from almost all the East) was held Three years after *Synodus Secunda*, the other, wherein were framed the Four Creeds, in the Eighth year of *Constantinus*, A. D. 344. *Salustius* Autor and *Leontius* being Consuls.

61. *Athanasius* all this while continued at *Rome*, where *Julius* the Bishop could do him little good for Three years together, nor *Paulus* the Elect of *Constantinople*, nor any of the Orthodox Party, though he espoused their quarrel and wrote into the East on their behalf. But now their Cause became more understood by *Constantinus* the Emperour, who could not but take notice of all this

noise betwixt the Western and Eastern Prelates, and thereupon bethink of the Publick Peace, which is not sooner broke any ways than through Heats and siding about Religion, which were also more unseasonable at this time when the *Persian*, the Common Enemy from without, threatened the Tranquillity of the Empire. This was a convenient Season for *Athanasius* to lay open his Grievs, being commended to the Emperor with all advantage possible both by *Julius Bishop of Rome*, and *Hofius of Corduba*, who also earnestly solicited him about the calling of a General Council. Being sent for by *Constantius*, he went to *Milaine* where then the Court was, and he and his Friends so wrought that they obtained a Letter from the Emperor to his Brother *Constantius* about the Summoning of a Council. He shewed him the necessity of Summoning the Bishops of both Empires together, amongst whom there seemed to be difference both in matters of Opinion touching some Points of Faith, as also for Supremacy and Jurisdiction, he desired him to use his Power in getting together the Prelates of the East, who, that they might be the easier persuaded, he nominated *Sardica* a City of *Thyrricum* as very convenient situate upon the Borders of both Empires, but more commodious for them, with whom he would take care that those of the West should meet at the time appointed. In the mean while was a Synod held at *Colein* May 11. against *Euphrates* Bishop of that City, who for denying the Divinity of Christ, with *Photinus* and *Marcellus*, was deposed by the unanimous consent of the Bishops of *Gall*, amongst whom *Athanasius* is said to have been present.

A General
Council at
Sardica.

62. In the Eleventh year after the Decease of *Constantine*, and the Consulship of *Fl. Eusebius*, and *Fl. Rufinus*, in the Eleven hundredth Year of *Rome*, the Third of the 281 *Olympiad*, the Fifth Indiction, *A. D.* 347. there met (as *Athanasius* wrote) about Three hundred Bishops out of the West, and (as *Sabinus* counted) Seventy six out of the East, to the Council summoned at *Sardica*, amongst whom was *Ischyrius* so often mentioned, whom the Deposers of *Athanasius* had preferred to the Title of a Bishop. The reason why no more met out of the Eastern Churches, though the place lay more convenient for them, and in the Territories of their own Empire, was despair of any Issue suitable to their former Achievements. Some alledged infirmity of Body, and others complained of the shortness of time, blaming the Bishop of *Rome* for not letting them have more timely notice, whereas an whole Year and an half intervened from the Date of the Summons to the time of the Meeting. When the Council met, the *Arians* perceiving how things were like to go, withdrew to *Philippi* a City about a days Journey distant from *Sardica*, whence they sent to the rest frivolous Excuses why they could not be present, and withall signified that they could not joyn with them as long as *Athanasius* and *Paulus* Persons formerly condemned at *Antioch*, were permitted to sit amongst them. *Hofius* who presided in the Council, sent them word that the Council was resolved, though in their absence, to proceed in the Examination of the Cause of these Bishops, and willed them to be present, that they might if they could make good those Charges against them, which never yet seemed justly proved, and prevent the Condemnation of themselves for their unjust Censures. This warning doing no good, the Orthodox Party fell to the Examination of Witnesses, and after a full and indifferent Hearing acquitted *Athanasius* and *Paulus*, restored them to their Churches, and inflicted upon the Contumacious Bishops the same Censures which they had formerly executed upon these Innocent Persons.

63. After this when it was moved that a New Confession of Faith should be framed, it was resolved in the Negative, forasmuch as Multiplication of Creeds would beget Confusion and Uncertainty, whilst variety of Terms and Phrases perplexed the Readers, who would not know where to rest, or wherein to fix, and by this means all those that followed might pretend to amend what their Predecessors had done, and so as well the *Nicene Creed* as others should be thought Insufficient and Imperfect. They resolved therefore to stand by the *Nicene Creed*, only for to prevent mistakes, to lay open the cunning of the *Arians*, and prevent their Subterfuges, they explicated (as some have written) the Clause of one Substance, and set forth the Hæresie of that Assertion that the Son of God is not of the same Substance with the Father. This they published in their Acts or a Narrative of their Proceedings, wherein also they shewed their Reasons why they acquitted *Athanasius* and the rest, with the causeless departure of the *Arian* Bishops, and their obstinate refusal to joyn with them. They in the mean time are not idle, but act quite contrary to the Proceedings, condemning

Athanasius, ad
Constantium.
Sec. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
Sec. 1. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

Cent. 7. m. 1.

But the
Arians make
new ones.

demanding such as had absolved *Athanasius*, and *Julius* Bishop of *Rome* amongst the rest, and make a new Confession of Faith, against which the other had firmly resolved. By reason of this contrary proceeding of those several Parties, the Resolutions and Acts of this Council have been variously accepted and reported in latter times, many things being cited as Decreed by the *Sardican* Council, contrary to the Testimony of *Athanasius* himself, who had reason to know what passed, although *St. Augustin* and others grant those Decrees to have been of this Council, but except against it as Hæretical and *Arian*. So that great Confusion and uncertainty even in these times appears to have been amongst the best knowing in reference to this Council, which seizes *Baronius* with admiration. Many also since the time that he wrote, considering the Summons was universal, would gladly with him give it the name of a General or Oecumenical Council. But when they consider how it was divided into several Parties or Factions, how many guiltless were condemned, and how many guilty were acquitted by both Parties, and for these reasons of Ambiguity and Injustice, how the Orthodox for many Ages were shy of receiving any of its Acts as Authentical, they conclude that the Cardinal in giving to high a Title to this Synod, hath not at all advantaged the Opinion concerning the Infallibility of General Councils.

64. For they acquitted *Marcellus* of Hæresie laid to his charge by the *Arians*, from which Orthodox Antiquity is far from absolving him: And to uncertain were this Synods Determinations, that all Parties made use of them, and renounced them when it stood most with their own advantage, as *Baronius* himself instanteth in several Particulars. So that granting the Summoning of the Council to have been Oecumenical, yet if we call Antiquity to give Testimony, little of certainty can it produce upon which to found any Catholic Assertions, the Relations of *Athanasius* being most Authentick, which were as much known to others as us, and yet they follow other Authors. However as to Ecclesiastical Discipline these Fathers are said to have made One and twenty Canons; whereof the First upon the Proposition of *Hofius* taking notice how little good former Synods had done by their Prohibitions in this Particular, ordains that such Bishops as flitte and remove from one Church City or Diocess to another be Excommunicated even from the Laity; and the Second at the instance of the said Person decrees the same Censure to be inflicted, although they be solicited to this remove by the Importunity of the People, which easily may be by Corruption wrought into such an humour. The Third Canon forbids that any Bishop remove out of one Province into another, except he be invited by his Brethren, and if any Bishop think himself aggrieved in any Cause determined by his Comprovincials, upon *Hofius* his motion, it was resolved he might appeal to the Bishop of *Rome*. Indeed his Reputation was not a little enhanced by his continuing Orthodox in those times of Trial. So that the Dignity of that City receiving fair advantage from these Controversies, whilst the *Arians* justly denied his right, yet the Orthodox might assert his capacity (not Authority) to determine their Differences. And hence were afforded Opportunities and Advantages for that Supremacy which vicissitude of times, and the comperment of Affairs suggested afterward to the *Roman* Prelates. But the Canons of this Council in behalf of the Bishop of *Rome* for the advancement of his Authority, the Fathers of the *African* Council universally assert to be Supposititious, who affirm in their Letters to the Pope that no such thing can be found in any Synod of the Fathers. Now had there been any such Canons, doubtless they could not have been ignorant of them.

Diff. 2. *Athanasius*
confutated.

64. 4. *Optatus*
Episcopus.

Priscus White-
herum.

65. Upon the motion of *Gaudentius* a Fourth Canon was made, which forbade the Ordination of a Bishop into his room, who being deposed, appealed to the Bishop of *Rome*, till the Matter was heard and adjudged by the said Bishop. The Fifth Canon at the instance of *Hofius*, takes care that in case one Bishop in a Province be remaining, wherein formerly were several, and this Bishop at request of the People, wanting Pastors, refuse to ordain any more, the neighbouring Bishops contribute their assistance to their just desire, and ordain them a Bishop. The Sixth expressly forbids the Ordaining of a Bishop for one Village or small City, to the care of which one Priest sufficeth, lest thereby the Dignity and Authority Episcopal incur contempt; which it seemed to have done by means of *Ischyrius* whom the *Arians* had ordained Bishop, but to such a See as formerly did belong to a simple Parish, being not a Parish of it self, but a Village or Hamlet appertaining to another Town. The Seventh Canon gives liberty

Diff. 63. *Gregory*.

The Orthodox
Bishops stick
to the *Nicene*
Creed.

liberty, in case of an Appeal, to the Bishop of *Rome*, the Appellant desiring it; so that Bishop to send those who may joy with the other Bishops in judging the Appellant. The Eighth inhibits the Custom of Bishops flying to the Court, without the Commendation of their Brethren, or the Summons of the Emperour, whereby much Scandal had been lately given. The Ninth gives directions how a Bishop may send his Deacon to the Metropolitan, and he commend him to those Bishops where the Court resides. Or he may by his Deacon sollicite his Friends at Court if he have any. And if it be at *Rome*, the Synod orders that the Petitions be delivered to their most Holy Brother and Fellow Bishop of the *Roman Church*, who upon Examination finding them just and fitting, is to use care and diligence that they be conveyed to the Emperours presence.

66. At the instance of *Aliphus*, it was by the Tenth Canon made Lawful for Bishops to betake themselves to the Court in behalf of Infants and Widows. But left under specious Pretences such Liberty be abused, and such Scandal happen as formerly the Impudence of some had brought upon the Church; the Eleventh Canon ordains that such as should break the former bounds be deprived. And that this Canon might take effect, *Gaudentius* the Bishop further propounded, that such Bishops as lived in *Canals*, or the way of the publick Posts, should stop such of their Brethren as travelled towards the Court, and upon Examination according to the Merit and Purport of their business, either forbid upon pain of Excommunication, or allow their Journey, which was unanimously Decreed. Yet left any should through Ignorance of this Canon be surprized, at the request of *Hofius*, the Twelfth Canon provides that such should have notice of it. Then forasmuch as great Inconvenience happened by the sudden Promotion of Persons to the Episcopal Function, and to prevent such damage as may happen to the Church by Novices, the Fathers agreed to a Thirteenth Canon recommended by *Hofius*, forbidding any to be made a Bishop *per saltum*, or except he had passed through the Offices of *Reader*, *Deacon* or *Priest*, whereby his Abilities and Virtues might be thoroughly known before his Praerement to so high a Calling. Because much Mischief and Scandal had happened by reason of the stay of Bishops out of their own Dioceses and Provinces too long a time; *Hofius* also advised the Fathers, that forasmuch as in a former Synod they deprived such Lay-Persons of Communion as should absent themselves for three Lords days or three Weeks together from Church in the Cities where they dwelt: the same might be Decreed concerning a Bishop, who without great necessity was absent from his Church that same space of time, and it pleasing them well, a Fourteenth Canon was framed to this purpose. For the further enlargement of which, a Fiftenth was added at the motion of the said *Hofius*, wherein is also contained, that a Bishop, if he cannot be in his own Territories, he ought to go to the next Church where there is a Priest, lest he should pass over a Lords-day without going to Church at all; but he is to order his business where his Revenues lye, that he be not absent from his Cathedral above three Weeks.

67. For the preserving of Peace and Concord *Hofius* procured the Sixteenth Canon, forbidding any Bishop to receive any Clerk into Communion, Excommunicated by another, upon pain of being Censured by a Synod. But left through the passion and halfness of any Bishop innocent Persons should at any time suffer; Power is given by the Seventeenth Canon to the Neighbouring Bishops to hear and determine such Matters, and severely to rebuke such as they should find to have carried themselves irreverently towards their Bishops. The Eighteenth at the motion of *Januarius*, forbids the enticing of Clerks from other Bishops, and Ordaining them in their own Dioceses: Which *Hofius* found so reasonable, that by a Nineteenth Canon he obtained a Nullity decreed on the Ordination of Ministers, subject to other Bishops, performed without the consent of their Dioceses, with Admonitions and Censures to be inflicted upon the Ordainers. The Twentieth Canon renews former Decrees made against the stay and abode of Clerks, such as were Strangers, at *Thessalonica*. The Twenty First and last Canon at the motion of *Hofius*, but suggestion of *Olympius*; decreed that such as were Persecuted for the Testimony of a good Conscience, and for bearing Witness to the Orthodox and Catholick Faith, forced into other Cities, should be received with Humanity and Benevolence. And the whole Synod said, all those Constitutions, let the Catholick Church dispersed throughout the World receive; and all the Bishops which had met together from divers Provinces, Sub-

scribed

scribed faith the Latin Edition of this Council to the Number of 121. But *Balsamon* in his Greek Copies hath no such Number, but writes that 341 Bishops met at *Sardica*, and Decreed those things, but in his Copies the Eighteenth Canon is wanting.

68. The Council of *Sardica* being broken up, and each one departed towards their proper Sees, great Outrages were committed by the *Arians*, against all such of the Orthodox party as they could light off; whereof *Athanasius* gives several examples. And such was the issue of this, as well as other Councils, that the breach was so far from being made up, that it was much more enlarged. For the East and Western Churches were, as *Socrates* telleth us, now divided, the place which severed their Communion, being the Mount *Tifius*, between *Ilyrium* and *Thrace*, where every of them among themselves, though they differed about the Faith, yet the quarrel being laid aside, Communicated together; but beyond that, there was no Communion of the contrary Parties. They were called Eastern and Western, especially out of the respect to the two Empires so Named; not upon any exact Geographical account: As if the North and South parts of the World might not justly challenge their Share in the Provinces; but the Church, as she took the Model of her Praecincts from that of the State, so herein also followed that Division of the Empires.

69. The determination of the Synod for restitution of the Bishops to their own Sees. Notwithstanding *Constantius* pursued the inclinations of the *Arian* Party, rather persecuting those that were already in, than restoring the ejected, till such times as his Brother *Constant* found himself more than ordinarily concerned. Having found that more difficulty than ordinary was made about *Athanasius* his return to his See, he sent for him from *Naissus*, whether he had betaken himself, and commanded him to abide at *Aquileia*, under his own Protection: Then wrote heto his Brother *Constantius*, more earnest Letters than formerly, minding how deeply the Honour of them both was concerned, in putting the determinations of that Council which had been summoned by their Joynt Authority to *Sardica*, to Execution; however he told him, that for his part he was very sensible, what ever he might be, of his duty in that particular, and being resolved effectually to prosecute that design, he advised him to regard his own Honour, and restore *Athanasius* and the rest to their places, if not, he told him he would in Person make an Expedition, and see them restored to their Sees, whether he would or no. Those Letters were sent with the determinations of the Council by two Bishops *Euphrates* and *Vincentius*, whom the Synod had chosen to go to *Constantius*, with whom *Constant* joyned *Salianus* a Count. Coming to *Constantinople* and finding the Emperour was at *Antioch*, they Travelled thither, but before their arrival, their coming was known to *Stephen* Bishop of that City, who had been a Member of the *Arian* Conventicle at *Philippopolis*.

70. He as well to frustrate their Errand, as to blast the reputation both of their Persons and Party, suborns a Rude young Fellow called *Onager* to bring a Common Strumpet into the Inn where the two Bishops lay, and privately convey her into their Chamber: The Villany was so far managed as to convey the Whore into the Room where *Euphrates* was then in Bed, *Vincentius* being also at his rest in an inner Chamber, and according to agreement, the Company ready at the Door entered the Chamber, and finding her there where they had put her, exclaimed abundantly, and a Tumult was raised: *Vincentius* upon this getting up, the Gates of the Inn were shut, yet *Onager* and other of the Clerks made their escape, but the Strumpet together with seven of the Conspirators they seized on, and carried them before the Magistrates, where upon Examination the whole Plot was discovered, which *Stephen* also the Bishop had not so much impudence to deny: Hereupon by command of the Emperour, such Bishops as then were at *Antioch* deprived him of his Bishoprick, into which was chosen one *Leonius*, a Man not much better, who had exalted himself, as it's said, that he might the more safely without scandal keep Company with a certain Woman whom he pretended to be a Virgin; and this Fellow they promoted expressly contrary to the first Canon of the *Nicean Council*.

71. The Villany of *Stephen* had this effect upon *Constantius*, that considering with himself, how the *Arians* might have dealt in this sort with others of the Orthodox Party, it made him seriously to reflect upon the Contents of his Brothers Letters. Having viewed the determinations of the Council, and received the advice of his own Bishops, rather to permit the return of *Athanasius*, than engage upon his account in a War, now at such time as the *Persians* were upon the

K

Borders

The Church
at the State
divided.

In East and
Western.

Constantius
sent to his
Brother Con-
stantius about
Athanasius his
return to his
See.

The Messen-
gers abused by
the Villany of
Stephen.

As said.

I. 2. 2. 21.

See. I. 2. 2.
19. Athanasius.
as said.
Theod. I. 2. 2.
9. 10.

Borders, he sent his Orders to his Lieutenants in *Ægypt*, not to molest those of his Party. His answer to his Brother was, that he was very ready to comply with him, in the executions of the Decrees of the late Synod; that he was not against the restitution of *Athanasius*, for whom he kept the Church of *Alexandria* vacant, to which he might return at his pleasure. *Athanasius* not knowing well how to trust to his Message, removed to *Millain*, where he received a Letter from *Constantius* himself, wherein he tells him, that he commiserated his long Sufferings, that he had long ere this sent for him to *Constantinople*, but that he expected he should have made application to himself; which because he thought he had not done, rather out of fear than any neglect of his Person or Authority, he now out of his good inclinations to him, assured him the kindness unasked for, of restoring him to his Native Country, and his Bishoprick: When he demurred yet a little, as thinking if the Emperour had a real kindness for him, or intended him any good, he would rather have suffered him to take the nearest way by Sea to *Alexandria*, than call him to *Constantinople*, and thereby force him upon a dangerous Journey, wherein he might be way laid by his Enemies; a second Letter came, and a third, enforced by those of some Noble-men his Friends, and brought by a Priest and a Deacon, whom *Constantius* had sent to encourage him to the Journey.

72. *Athanasius* hereupon betook himself to *Rome*, where advising further with the Bishop and his other Friends, they were clear for his venturing to *Constantinople*, and *Julius* sent by him Letters of Recommendation and Congratulation for his return to the Churches of *Alexandria*, to be seen in the History of *Socrates*. He took his way then to *Constantinople*, where when he found not the Emperour, he followed him to *Antioch*, and getting easily Audience, was received by him very Courteously. He found the Emperour content to what he had written, and when he laid open his Case, and the many injuries he had undergone, through the Calumnies of his Enemies, he seemed to acquiesce in what he said, and swore to him for the time to come, he would notarken to any complaints against him. His dispatch for *Alexandria* he obtained sooner through the jealousy of his Enemies, who knowing his parts, were unwilling he should contract any familiarity with *Constantius*, and his presence seemed mightily to encourage the Orthodox Party at *Antioch*, with whom he Communicated privately, refusing to join in the publick Worship with the *Arians*, who were by far the more prevalent Party in this City, and with whom the Orthodox Christians were forced to join, having no Liberty of Conscience as to Publick and Solemn Meetings. Yet through the connivance of *Leontius*, they had their liberty to honour the Son of God, according to their Profession; for when the *Gloria Patri* was Sung, and the *Arians* Phrased it *Glory be to the Father in the Son*, the Orthodox Christians would add, *and to the Son*, declaring that the same Glory was due to the Son as to the Father. But *Athanasius* considered his place and Sphere, and how to the sin of joyning with Hereticks, he should add scandal and bad Example.

73. The *Arians* being constrained to restore *Athanasius* in this manner, not only perfwaded their Emperour to the policy of making a Virtue of necessity, but to make some advantage also out of so bad a bargain. This was by desiring of *Athanasius* at his departure, when they thought good Nature and Gratitude would work, he having his Letters to the Churches, and all he could desire; that those of the *Arian* perswasion might have some one Church wherein they might publicly meet at *Alexandria*. To which when he could not in a manner deny, he answered, as not presuming to disobey the Emperour, but made bold unto his desires, to return his humble Petition, that seeing there were many Christians in that City of *Antioch*, which also in some points differed from *Leontius*, that they by his Imperial favour might obtain the like Indulgence. *Constantius*, though he disliked the answer, was grieved by the Equity of the proposal; and the *Arians* considering that by granting the request of *Athanasius*, they should loose more ground at *Antioch* than they got at *Alexandria*; the whole matter was waved and passed over in silence. And much more reason they had, if it be true what we have from *Socrates*, that his Petition extended to the Catholics, dispersed all over, under the Government of *Arian* Bishops. But thus did *Constantius* restore *Athanasius*, abrogating what ever had been done against, and sent him away with three Letters Commendatory; two to the Church of *Alexandria*, and a third to the Governours of *Augustonnia*, *Thebais* and *Lybia*; wherein he commands that all that Communicate with him shall enjoy their full

full Franchise and Liberty; With him were several others restored, as *Paulus Marcellus*, *Asclepas* Bishop of *Gaza*, and *Lucius* Bishop of *Adrianople*, whom their several Churches were commanded to entertain.

74. *Athanasius* in his way homeward passed through *Syria* and *Palæstine*, and came to *Jerusalem*, where upon his desire, *Maximus* the Bishop called a Synod of Bishops out of *Syria* and *Palæstine*, by the decree of which he was received into Communion and restored. Now, as it ever happens to Men in Prosperity, he is courted on all hands, even by Enemies, *Orsaius* and *Vales* two of the most factious *Arian* Bishops sending to beg his Pardon, and renouncing the Doctrine of *Arius*; which that they might seem to do Cordially they take a Journey to *Rome*, and make their Recantation before that Bishop, whom they thought for the Dignity of his See, and his Orthodox judgment, to have been most Eminent in the West, during those Controversies. But at *Alexandria* he is received with joy above the expression of Tongue or Pen, such as was manifested by publick Thanksgivings, Festivities, Feastings and other signs too pregnant to escape either to the view, or then envy of the *Arians*, who begin afresh to load him with Calumnies to *Constantius*. This they thought they might now do with the better success, because *Constantius* the Western Emperour, his great Patron was ere this Murdered by the Treason of *Magnentius* and his Followers; who, to the great scandal of Religion, were the first Christian Rebels, daring to rise up against their Sovereign; a thing not once thought of by the Ancient Christians, though they groined under the Persecution of Ethnic Princes. The Multitude of Orthodox Christians being increased at *Alexandria* at his return, and the Churches, where they usually met, being not large enough now to receive them, he was forced to make use of a large and stately one, built by *Constantius*, but not yet Consecrated; and this they interpreted as done out of pride or presumption, and in despite of the Emperours Authority, whom he would not deigne as much as to acquaint with his designed Dedication. They accused him also of holding intelligence with *Magnentius*, because that Usurper had sent certain *Italian* Bishops of *Athanasius* his Acquaintance on an Embassy to *Constantius*, whom in their Journey, taking *Alexandria* in their way, had been entertained by him; and they had laid to his charge that he had many times conferred Orders out of his own Diocess and Province, contrary to the Canons.

75. Such were the difficulties that *Constantius* wrestled with at this time, having his hands full of *Magnentius*, and about to grapple with the *Persian*, that he thought it not seasonable to meddle with *Athanasius*, by disobliging whom he might procure to himself fresh troubles in *Ægypt*, a Country he knew to be much at the Bishops Devotion; instead therefore of bad Deeds, he gave him good Words, and thrice did he Write to him encouraging Letters, after the death of *Constantius*, remembering it's probable what Promises and Oaths he had made to him. For two or three Years *Athanasius* remained in quiet at *Alexandria*, during which time *Maximus* his old Friend the Bishop of *Jerusalem* dyed, concerning whose Successors who were *Arians* a long time, there is great confusion amongst Writers, which *Baronius* attributes to the Strife and mutual Hatred betwixt the *Arians* themselves: For as it usually happens to all great Factions, that if they continue long, they part and divide afunder into lesser Divisions; so happened it amongst those Hereticks, of whom some thinking more honourably of the Son of God than others, although they denied also his Consubstantiality, yet coming nearer to the Orthodox Doctrine, were called *Semiarrians*. But *Constantius* having extricated himself out of his former difficulties by the suppression of the Usurpers, returned to his wonted humour, receiving impressions as formerly from the *Arian* Bishops. Ere his return to *Constantinople* he ordered *Philip* his Lieutenant to remove *Paul* the Bishop thence, and restore *Macedonius* to that See, who fearing a Tumult of the Citizens, sent for him privately and letting him down into a Boat, conveyed him secretly to the place of his banishment. This good Bishop having long run the Fortune of a constant Confessor, at last arrived at the Crown of Martyrdom, being first banished into *Pontus*, by procurement of *Eusebius* and his Party, then by *Constantius* into *Mesopotamia*, where he was kept at *Singra*, thence he was removed to *Emesa*, and thence to *Cucus* a Town of *Armenia*, about *Taurus*, where he was strangled by the *Arians*. His Body *Theodosius* afterward caused to be translated to *Constantinople*, and Buried in the Church which had been built by *Macedonius* his Adversary, but was afterward known by the Name of *Paul*.

Constantius
his reply.

Vide Athan.
& Socrat. l.
2. c. 23.

Athanasius
returns.

where he is
received with
all the joy
imaginable.

But is again
Accused by the
Arians.

Maximus
Bishop of Je-
rusalem dyed,
and is succe-
eded by an Arian.

Paul of
Constantinople
banished, and
afterward mur-
dered by the
Arians.

Athan. A.
ep. 1. per.
his journey.

And with
the Emperour
Letters goes
to Alexandria.

Athanasius
his. Socrat. l. 2.

76. Things going thus with *Paul*, *Athanasius* his turn could not be far behind; but the *Arians* first use wiles and tricks before they come to force. *Ursacius* and *Valens*, who as we said pretended to be Converts, went to *Rome* to make their Submission and Acknowledgments to the Bishop. There they defie *Arian*s and purge *Athanasius*; but for his greater Honour they advise *Julius* to call him to *Rome*, that his Virtue and Integrity might be the more apparent, and greater satisfaction might be given to the World; concluding with themselves, that this the Bishop would not refuse to do, it being an occasion of shewing his Interest, and getting Credit to his Authority; and that *Athanasius* would in vindication of just freedom as earnestly refuse to come, and so a breach would be made betwixt the two Orthodox Bishops and their Churches, at which the *Arians* might Triumphantly enter. *Julius* could not do this being prevented by death after he had fate in that See near Sixteen years. To him succeeded *Liberius* a Roman, who as some write, readily undertaking what he thought might make for the reputations of his See, Cited *Athanasius* to *Rome*, under pain of Excommunication. *Athanasius* though he had honoured the Roman Bishop, and in respect to his Faith more than the Dignity of his See, had given him the right hand of Fellowship, and willingly admitted him Umpire in those controversies betwixt him and his Enemies, yet he refused to obey his Summons (which seemed to be made Authoritatively) and thereby gives so dangerous a Precedent for the founding of an Usurped Supremacy.

Julius the Bishop dyes, *Liberius* succeeds who cites *Athanasius* to *Rome*.

And upon refusal to come Excommunicates him.

Upon which *Constantius* summons a Council at *Arles*, wherein *Athanasius* and others are sent in banishment.

And another at *Milaine*.

There the Orthodox are banished and the *Arians* take their place.

Hilari fragments. Bibliotheca patrum tom. 1. col. 125.

could not weaken the Truth he professed, so little was he moved by Arguments drawn from visibility. When he saw he could not prevail he banished him to *Bera* in *Thrace*; and in his place was put *Felix* a Deacon of the Roman Church, as *Auxentius* into the See of *Milan*, both *Arians* we may easily believe, if we question not the cunning and Policy of that Party.

79. *Athanasius* his doom we may be sure was very heavy, when the Defence of him was a great part of the Crime for which these Bishops were so severely censured. By their endeavours to clear him *Constantius* was so enraged, that he published a most severe Edict against him, whereby Sentencing him to Death, he commanded he should be Executed wheresoever he was found, ordering the Churches of *Alexandria* to be delivered up to the *Arians*, whom he licenced to do even what they pleased. In pursuance of this Decree he sends down *Syrannus* a Captain with some Thousands of Men to *Alexandria*. The Inhabitants begged of this *Syrannus* that he would do nothing till they had sent a Message to the Emperour. He gave them both his Word and Oath, but a little afterward, he came upon them when they were not aware, being at Church, assembled with their Bishop upon an Holy Vigil, and purposing to spend that night in Devotion, being the next day to participate of the Holy Eucharist. He beset the Church round with his armed Men when it was now late at night, and breaking in, made most horrid slaughter of all Persons, no Sex Age or Quality considered. But he, whom they most aimed at, being earnestly besought to save himself by those about him, when they first perceived the Treachery, refused to make his escape, resolving to fare as the rest did, yet in the Crowd he passed through undiscovered, and by Gods great Providence got into the Wilderness. Thence he was minded to go to the Emperour and lay open his Case, before he perceived his settled Resolution for his Destruction, which being first apprehended by what Quarter the rest of his Brethren had in *Egypt*, was fully confirmed to him by the Edicts set out against himself, whereby orders are given to apprehend him in all places, and reward offered to such as could produce him alive, or bring in his Head to the Magistrate. The *Alexandrian* Churches are commanded to look upon him no otherwise than as the Emperours Enemy, Penalties are inflicted on such as comfort, relieve, or harbour him. Thus had he no place wherein to rest in safety, all the World being as it were in Arms against this one Man. All Officers and Soldiers are to enquire for him, some hunt after the prey to obtain a reward, and others would purchase him with Money, that by such a Present they might procure Interest and Esteem. But they are safe whom God keeps.

Athanasius welcomed by the Emperour.

80. Though he escaped, so did not his Flock, which (though his Enemies objected his Flight against him) yet was better provided for by his removal, than possibly it could have been by his stay, which would have brought him to certain Destruction, whereas his Flight preserved him, and thereby secured his Abilities for a better time and further Service. Enraged at his escape, they revenge it to purpose upon his Friends and Followers in *Alexandria* and *Egypt*. *Heraclius* a Count of the *Arian* stamp, with *Sebastian* an Officer, and a Manichee, executing to the full such Orders as they had received from the Emperour. Into the places of the exiled Bishops they thrust Men as despicable for Parts and Abilities, as Heretical in their Judgments; and into the See of *Alexandria* one *George* lately come from *Cappadocia*, and as some have written originally of that Country, though *Ammianus* tells us he was born at *Epiphania* a City of *Cilicia*, in a fulling Mill as was reported. Indeed he is very often in ancient Authors confounded with *Gregory* the *Cappadocian*, who being put into the place of *Athanasius* by the Juncto of *Antioch*, was deposed by the Council at *Sardica*, and died, as *Athanasius* writes, Ten Months after the finishing of that Council. The likeness of their Names confounded Transcribers, who often put the one for the other; they are said by some to have been Country men, they were both *Arians*, both great Adversaries of *Athanasius*, and Intruders into his See, and being great Persecutors of the Orthodox Christians of *Alexandria*, were both killed as some say by that injured and enraged People. It is necessary therefore to use great caution and distinction in the reading of Authors, who write of them both. But they may be sufficiently discerned from each other by what we have formerly said of *Gregory*, and what we now come to speak of *George*.

George Episcopus place.

L. 2. c. 16. *Athanasius*, ad *Julius* & de *Se* 6a. Sec. 1. 2. c. 16.

81. Gregory was of a Clergy-man made Bishop of *Alexandria*, but this *George* being a Lay-person, having knavishly discharged a fordid Secular Employment, was thought good enough by the *Arians* for the Episcopal Function. *Nazianzen* tells us, that he was of a bad Stock, and worse Qualities, not at all endowed with ingenious Knowledge, or affable in his Conversation, not so much as pretending to godliness, or cloaking his Villanies with specious Pretexts, yet fit for any bold Attempt, and a proper Instrument to disturb the Publick Peace. Such an one in his beginnings as might be properly termed a Parasite, haunting good Tables; all his Designs seeming to be laid for the filling of his Belly. His first Preferment was most base and fordid, being the Provost General of Hogs Flesh for the Army. And here, faith he, he left off his roguerie, and began his Villanies. *Athanasius* writes that he was a keeper of Provisions at *Constantinople*, where being found to have abused his Trust, and converted the Commodities to his own advantage, he was forced to run, and fled into *Cappadocia*. But it seems he was taken notice of for a subtle headed Man, and fit for business, and being an *Arian*, for such work as was to be done at *Alexandria*, which none but a Knave and Huckleb would, and none but a cunning and resolute Fellow could, go through. Hereupon he was commended to *Constantius*, had his Peace begged, and was Ordained Bishop of *Alexandria*, where he must abolish the Memory of, and expiate his former Crimes, by the Service to be performed against the Orthodox Christians.

82. Being put into Possession by the Emperours Officers in the time of Lent, he staid till the Week of *Easter* was past, and then began his Villanies. Then were the Sacred Virgins clapt in Prison, the Suffragan Bishops laied and tossed too and fro by the Soldiers, and the Houses of Poor and Rich pillaged and sacked. After the *Whitsun* Week the People assembling to the Celebration of a Fast, would not for all this be frightened into Communion with him, but refusing to joyn with him in the Holy Mysteries, gathered together in the Church-yard, which he understanding, procured that *Sebastian* to fall upon them, which he did, though on a Sunday as they were at Prayers. Enraged that he found but few, (for the hour being past, many were retired) he caused a Fire to be made, before which were brought the Virgins, and threatened with Death, except they would embrace the *Hæresie* of the *Arians*. When he could not overcome them by the humour of the Fire, he stripped them naked, and caused them so to be beaten and buffeted, that scarcely could their Friends know them a long time after. Forty Persons he scourged to with the Twigs of Palm Trees newly cut, and having on their pricking knobs, that many lay long under the Chirurgeons hands, and others died of their Wounds, whose Bodies they would not restore to their Friends, but let them lye unburied. Such as remained were banished together with the Virgins. This done to fright the Multitude, they proceed against their Faithful Pastors, that the Orthodox Doctrine might fail for want of Teachers, banishing several Bishops of *Egypt*, and *Lybia*, mentioned by *Athanasius*, with certain Priests whom they handled so roughly, that some died in the Journey, and others in Exile. But above Thirty Bishops they made away.

83. *Athanasius* escaping in the Wilderness there lay in great solitariness, but good security a long time, six years it is said, where he improved this sad opportunity in Writing several Treatises in his own Vindication, and for the strengthening of Orthodox Christians. Understanding that his Enemies calumniated him for flying, and leaving his Flock in time of danger, he wrote that piece concerning his Flight, wherein he proves it lawful to shun those imminent and certain perils devised for him, and clears himself of other Calumnies. And because not only the *Arians*, but the Emperour also, to prevent the censure of Cruelty and Injustice, had accused him of grievous Crimes, and given him the Character of a most prodigate Person, he wrote another Apology to him, wherein he confutes those Slanders, relating in those two, and his Epistle to such as lived solitary Lives in the Wilderness, the whole Series of all those Sufferings and Troubles which he and the Orthodox Party underwent. But this last seems written after the Synod held at *Ariminum*, about which time he also wrote his second Apology to *Liberius* the Bishop of *Rome*, when restored to his Bishoprick. In the mean time, a year after the Synod held at *Milane*, a Meeting of the Bishops was summoned at *Biturris* a Town in *Gall* at the procurement of *Saturnius* Bishop of *Arles*, the Ring-leader of the *Arians* in those Parts, wherein *Hilary* Bishop of *Poitiers*, for his former refusal to joyn in Communion with the *Hæreticks*, and

and for putting up a Bill against them at this time was censured and banished into *Phrygia*, the Faith of those, who formerly were zealous in their Profession, now waxed cold, and giving way to the great Deluge of *Arianism*, which out of the East bore down all before it even in the Western Countries.

84. This same year died *Leontius* Bishop of *Antioch*, of whose Death when *Eudoxius* Bishop of *Germadicia* a City of *Syria* heard, being then at *Rome*, he desired leave of the Emperour (who now resided there, having triumphed over his Enemies) to return to his own Diocess, which he pretended had great need of his Ghostly Council and assistance. Coming to *Antioch*, by the assistance of those of the Emperours Chamber, he craftily insinuated himself into that See, and calling a Synod of Bishops, endeavoured to restore *Aetius*, who being formerly a Deacon in that Church, had, for his *Hæresie* and Imply by the *Arians* themselves, been Excommunicated. This Man being of mean Parentage, was in his Youth taught the Trade of a Goldsmith, afterward getting a snatch of the liberal Arts, betook himself to *Paulinus* Bishop of *Antioch*, with whom he continued so long as the Bishop lived, but applying himself to fallacious ways of Disputing, and querks of Logick, he was by his Adversaries driven from that City, when *Eulalius* was Bishop, returning after the promotion of *Leontius*, he was made Deacon by him. Although he maintained the same things, yet did he separate himself from the *Arians*, because that after *Arius* his Perjury, they had received him into Communion, when he so lyled and dissembled with *Constantine* the Emperour. By reading the *Elencha* of *Aristotle* he got such a faculty of Disputing capiously, as amazed meanly intelligent Persons, and he would propound such Fallacies, as he himself through his half Learning of *Aristotle*'s Principles could not resolve. He had read over some of the Ancient Commentators, but condemned *Clement*, *Africanus* and *Origen*, as illiterate Persons. He would exclaim against the Divinity of the Son of God, because he could not understand how there was an unbegotten Birth, as he said, or how to imagine that the Begotten could be co-eternal with the Begetter. Incurring hatred with the Orthodox for those Opinions, and with the *Arians* for his conceited knowledge, he was further branded with the Title of Atheist. For he held, as *Epiphanius* tells us, that the perfection of Man consisted in the knowledge of Divine things alone, without the accession of Virtue, which he so far discarded, as he commended (instead of condemning) fleshly Lusts and Pleasures, affirming that Fornication and such unlawful acts, had no more hurt in them, than picking of the Ears, blowing the Nose, or other sorts of avoiding Excrements.

85. He esteemed himself of far greater Merit than *Arius*, and accordingly had the Honour of giving name to an *Hæresie* as well as he, his Followers being after him called *Aetiani*, though he had the ill luck of breeding a Scholar, who so far it seems outstrip his Master, that from his name *Eunomius* were they afterwards called *Eunomiani*. His great Abetter and Friend *Eudoxius* was so good a Proficient also in his Learning, that he had well nigh robbed him of his Glory. For priding himself much in being the Son of *Casarius* a Martyr of the lesser *Armenia*; he also improved his Interest and Reputation for the Cause *Hæresie* and Impiety of *Aetius*, as well as his Person, and being both remarkable for Dignity and Luxury, his Companions and Followers, instead of *Aetiani*, came to be called *Eudoxiani*. But all he could do was insufficient for the recalling of *Aetius*, whom the *Arians* were resolved to Sacrifice to their Reputation, affecting much the Title of Catholics, and thinking to escape the odious Imputation of *Hæresie*, by subjecting those unto the Punishment who were scarcely their Superiors in the Guilt. But their Severity fell especially upon *Photinus* Bishop of *Sirmium*, who being formerly Principled by *Marcellus*, maintained the Opinions of *Sabelius* the African, and *Paulus Samosatenus*, affirming, "That God is one, and alone, and not subsisting in Persons: That Christ is a Man begotten by a Man, and not from Eternity, being neither of the Substance of the Father, nor altogether like him. That the Holy Ghost is God, and no distinct Person. The *Arians*, though they held the Son of God to be but a Creature, and therefore their Opinion was a little more sound than his, yet shewing much Zeal for the Similitude of the Son of God, as if that would heal and make up all, procured *Constantius*, then at *Sirmium*, to call a Synod to that City.

86. That

Several Anathematizations.

86. The Hæresie of Photinus being condemned, the Bishops drew up a short Form of Faith, to which they added those Anathematizations to comprehend as well that of his, and other opinions. "First, Those that affirm that the Son of things which are not, or of any other substance, than of God the Father, let them be accursed. Second, Or that there was Time or Age when he was not. Third, Or that the Father and the Son are two Gods. Fourth, Or that Christ was God before all Ages, and yet the Son of God, did not with the Father make all things. Fifth, Or that the Son of God, or any part of him is begotten of Mary. Sixth, Or that the Son is born of Mary, according to the foreknowledge, and not before all Ages begotten of the Father, and was with God, and that by him all things were made. Seventh, Or that the substance of God may be dilated or contracted. Eighth, Or that the Essence of God dilated makes the Son, or shall call the Son as it were dilating of his Essence. Ninth, Or shall call the Son, the Word of God feared in the mind of the Father, or the Word brought forth. Tenth, Or that God Man is begotten of the Virgin Mary, understanding thereby, that God is begotten. Eleventh, Or that shall expound these words [besides me there is no God] to exclude thereby the only begotten, who is God from everlasting. Twelfth, Or these [the Word made Flesh] to be transmutation into Flesh. Thirteenth, Or by Crucifying the only begotten Son of God, shall understand, that the Son of God did undergo Passion, Distraction, Change, Diminution, Annihilation. Fourteenth, Or that shall expound these words [let us make Man in our own Image] as [spoken by God the Father to himself, and not to God the Son. Fifteenth, Or shall affirm that Jacob wrestled with God, as God, or with God the Father, and not with the Son as Man. Sixteenth, Or whosoever understandeth this, the Lord rained from the Lord, not to be meant of the Father and the Son, but that the Father rained from himself.

Vide Ser. l. 2. 4. c. 130.

87. Or Seventeenth, "Whoever shall expound these Forms of Speech, that Father Lord, the Son Lord, as if the Father being Lord, be both Lord and Son. Eighteenth, Whoever when he saith Lord of Lords shall thereby understand two Gods. For we do not place the Son, say they, in the same degree with the Father, but we make him subject to the Father. Nineteenth, Whoever shall affirm the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be one Person. Twentieth, Whoever, when he calleth the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, shall thereby mean God unbegotten. Twenty first, Whoever saith there is no other Comforter beside the Son. Twenty second, Or that shall affirm the Holy Ghost to be part of the Father and the Son. Twenty third, Or that the Son, as one of the Creatures, is made by the Will of the Father. Twenty fourth, Whoever affirmeth the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be Three Gods, let him be accursed. Twenty fifth, Or that the Son is begotten contrary to the Will of the Father. Twenty sixth, Whoever affirms that the Son had neither begetting, nor beginning, and so consequently affirm, that there are two without beginning, and two without begetting, and so appoint two Gods. The Son is the head and the Original of all Creatures, and the head of Christ is God, for so we refer all things reverently by the Son unto one principle of all things which is without beginning. Lastly, Weighing deeply with our selves that clause also of Christian profession, we say, that whosoever affirmeth Christ Jesus the Son of God who Ministred unto the Fathers at the Creation of all things, not to have been before all Worlds, but only since the time that the Son was born of Mary to have been Christ, and then his Deity to have begun, as Paulus Samosatenus was perfwaded, let him be accursed. This we have transcribed, that once for all it may appear how abstruse was the Hæresie of the Arians, how much it gave to the Son of God above other Hæresies, in allowing him a Deity, confessing his being before all Worlds, which the Father made by him; sometime, though not in the second Confession, they talk of Substance too and a perfect Similitude. But still they deny his *Consubstantiality*, that critical term which ever limits and determines their Doctrine, though it show never so high in the Epithets they give the Son of God. And not knowing what to say, or where to fix, they are guilty of prodigious uncertainty, whence so many Creeds and Forms of Faith, and so many Synods to make and marr, that Heathen Writers take notice of Constantius his Reign as very ridiculous in this respect.

88. Photinus was sufficiently censured, but this confession seeming too Orthodox, a second Model was drawn, wherewith the Semiarrians were offended, for that the word *Substance* was left out, and meeting afterwards at Ancyra a City of Galatia, they condemned this Model, asserting the word *Substance*, wherein they affirmed

affirmed the Son was like the Father. This was quite contrary to the Second Decree of them at Sirmium, who, as Socrates writes, after a long contention about the signification of the Greek word *homo*, and the Latin *Substantia*; about the equality or unity of Substance, resolved that the Church of God should no longer be troubled with the interpretation thereof; and that for two Causes, both for that the Scriptures of God make no mention thereof, and because the meaning thereof exceeded the capacity of Man; the Scripture testifying, that no Man is able to fathom the Generation of the Son, in these words, *his Generation who shall declare*. This act therefore of the Semiarrians, seeming so contrary to the public Cause, another meeting was had at Sirmium, in the second year after, where the Parties to agree, came to a composition, that the one should leave out the word *Substance*, and the other yield this to be inserted in the room of it, *In all things like to the Father*; and accordingly a third Form was drawn up, to which Constantius forced some Dissenters to subscribe. Now Baronius refers the first meeting at Sirmium to the Twenty first year of Constantius, the 357. of our Lord, although Socrates and Sozomen place it in the year after the Consulship of Sergius and Nigrinus, which happened A. D. 351. He takes his argument from the Subscription of Hefusus Bishop of Corduba, to the Decrees of this Council, and the banishment of Athanasius, which could not be before the Exile both of that Bishop and Liberius, as also from the presence of Constantius at Sirmium, which from Ammianus he gathers, fell out in this year. Others make there meetings held at Sirmium, viz. one A. D. 351. another the present 357, and another A. D. 359. Which produceth so many Forms of Faith, whereof the first was more tolerable, allowing the word *Substance*, but the Second utterly banished it, as never more to be used, and by the third they found a middle way, least Satan should be too much divided against himself.

Hil. de syn. Epiph. her. 73.

L. 2. c. 57.

Jacobus Ca' p. 4. ad A. D. 351. 357. 359.

89. But when the Second Confession came to be subscribed, Hefusus Bishop of Corduba, an ancient and Valient Souldier of Jesus Christ, became a remarkable example of humane Frailty, who refusing to fet to his hand, was by Scourging and racking at length compelled to it, though a few years after, as is probably conjectured, he died at his See in the Orthodox Faith. Liberius also Bishop of Rome, who formerly had stood out against Deprivation and Exile, was conquered with those Basiline Arguments of the Arians, and subscribed both to the Confession of Faith, and the banishment of Athanasius. The Cardinal Annalist labours hard to clear St. Peter's Chair from the guilt and scandal of Heretical pravity, telling us, that it was the first Confession of Faith to which Liberius subscribed, wherein was contained the word *Substance*, and that having nothing but Orthodox in it, according to the natural signification of the words, he was not obliged to consider what might be the meaning of the Arians. He endeavours to render invalid, what ever may make him guilty of Hæresie, by ascribing to the sophistication and Tricks of the Arians, whatsoever is found to his disadvantage in the writings of the Orthodox. But there are others, who from the credit of such Authors, as they conceive were never tempted to Lye, do much otherwise conceive of this action of Liberius. For Felix, who had succeeded him after his banishment, perceiving himself to be mortally hated for his Arianism, and that none upon that account would Communicate with him; that he might ingratiate himself with the People, thundred out Anathemas against the Arians. Liberius perceiving this, when he was not only threatened with the extremity of Torments, but saw there was hopes of recovering his Bishoprick, by complying with the Times, wrote Letters full of flattery to the Arians, calling them the Sons of Peace, and both condemned Athanasius, and subscribed to the Second Confession of Faith made at Sirmium, hereby he recovered his Bishoprick, thrusting out Felix as an intruder, whom he caused to be starved to death: Upon which account Hilarius grievously reprehended and Anathematized him, and Felix, (though upon another account faith Baronius,) was accounted a Martyr. The first that debauch Liberius was one Fortunatianus, as St. Hierome tells us.

Hil. frag. Marcul. Rom. Jul. 29. Athan. ad solitarius.

De Scrip. Ecclesijs.

90. But Constantius the Emperour, understanding what Eudoxius the Bishop of Antioch had done, both in reference to the Bishoprick, and Aetius, wrote unto the Inhabitants of that City against him, as one who had crept into that See without his knowledge and consent; and as to the Hæresie of Aetius, thinking he had not yet sufficiently provided by the late Transactions at Sirmium, he resolved to call another

See. l. 4. c. 13. Theod. 2. b. 2. c. 26.

another Council : Being so resolved, he was persuaded by the Favourers of *Eudoxius*, to summon the Bishops to *Nice*, thinking, it seems, that this City, being as yet famous for the late Council thither assembled, would obliterate that Creed, and give reputation to his Hæresie, by obtruding that for the Orthodox Faith; but afterwards the Emperours mind changed, and it was summoned to *Nicomedia* a City of the same Province. Here, when they should assemble, so great an Earthquake happened, that it destroyed well nigh the whole Town, and this constrains them to think again of *Nice*. But hither also the Earthquake comes, and so prevents them, that they know not whether to turn themselves. Some from St. *Hierom* gather that thence, the Assembly was removed to *Ancyra*, whither when the Prelates were travelling, *Hilary* wrote his Book of Synods in *Phrygia*, wherein he bewails the backsliding of those times, which he affirms to be so great, that in Ten Provinces of *Asia* scarcely was one Bishop to be found who knew and feared God. And now it was, that the *Samiarians* might make their protestation against the Second Form of Faith, agreed on at *Sirmium*. But the favourers of *Eudoxius* and *Aëtius* perceiving things to go too favourably in behalf of the Catholick Cause, the word *Confubstantial* being only wanting to join to it, the *Semiarians* obtained of the Emperour that two places should be appointed for the Eastern and Western Bishops to meet at. The pretence was, that both sorts might have the more convenience of Travel; but the design, that they might not be united in one Body, for then they feared the Orthodox Party would be prevalent; but being divided into two Assemblies, divers forms of Faith and Decrees might pass them, whereof they doubted not, but some they might either easily draw or wrest to their purpose. In these changes and removes was spent this year, which was the Twenty Second of *Constantius*, the Fourth of *Rome*, the first Indiction. A. D. 358. *T. Fabius Decianus*, and *Naratus Cerealis* being Consuls.

An Assembly held at *Sirmium*.

91. The places determined for the Eastern Bishops, was *Seleucia*, a City of *Isauria*, and for the Western *Ariminum* in *Italy*, where Four Hundred Prelates, some say Six hundred assembled. But first this same year which was the Twenty third of *Constantius*, was the third Creed made at *Sirmium* (as we formerly hinted) on the Twenty second of *May*, where after great Contentions, the Parties agreed to leave out the word *Substance*, upon condition, that Christ might be said in all things like the Father, which held them in dispute till the very Night preceeding the Feast of *Whitsuntide*. The Emperour *Constantius*, who was present at the making of this Confession, six days after, sent it away to *Ariminum*, where the first Session was held on the Twenty first of *July*. There assembled so many of the Orthodox Party, that do what the *Arians* could, they carried it quite for the recognition of the *Nicene Creed*, and Condemnation of *Arius*, and his Doctrine, rejecting besides all others Forms and Confessions of Faith, this new one come from *Sirmium*: And they deposed *Valens* and *Ursacius* the Ringleaders of the Hæretical Party, together with *Auxentius Germanus*, *Caius*, and *Demophilus*, because they refused to join with them. These Men who were wont to carry all before them, because backed with the Emperours Authority, in a great rage took to him, to whom they lay open the danger of further troubles, after that the Council at *Sirmium* had taken so hopeful a course for the peace of the Church, which those Men leavened with the Principles of *Athanassius*, went about again to disturb. The Council sent also their Messengers to the Court, desiring, that having dispatched those matters for which they were called, they might have leave to depart to their own Sees. *Constantius* was about this time moving Eastward against the *Barbarians*, who broke violently into the Empire, and therefore telling them he could not at present attend those Controversies, he appointed them to expect his return at *Adrianople*.

See. l. 2. c. 19.

See. xxvii. c. 36. See. c. 23. Theod. l. 19.

The Arians met at *Nice*, and made a new Creed.

92. The *Arians* in the mean time met at *Nice* in *Thrace*, where they drew up another Form of Faith, like unto the third made at *Sirmium*, leaving out both *Substance* and *Confubstantial*, and in some of them, in all things like, putting like only. *Socrates* tells us, that *Ursacius* called this Assembly together, and therein publishing that Confession read in *Ariminum*, and forged at *Sirmium*, afterward set it forth as agreed to by a General Council, gave it the Name of the *Nicene Faith*, to the intent, that using the Name of *Nice*, he might ensure the ignorant and simple sort of People, who verily thought it the same Creed which had formerly been Composed at *Nice* in *Bithynia*; till at length the treachery of these Deceivers

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was discovered, and the Imposture derided. This same Author writes, that the Bishops at *Ariminum*, having answered the Emperours Letter, wherein he signified his pleasure that they should abide there till his return from the War, departed all to their own Sees. But *Sulpicius Severus* (who as he saith himself, had the knowledge of what passed in this Synod, from *Gaudentius* a Bishop) reports, that *Constantius* having dismissed the Messengers of the Council, who being young, unlearned, and imprudent, were drawn in to subscribe the Creed of *Sirmium*, gave order to his Prefect not to suffer the Fathers to depart from *Ariminum* till they had also subscribed the same Confession. At first they refused to Communicate with their Apostate Messengers; but old Age, the cold of Winter, want of Necessaries, with threats of Tortures, if not broke them, that all in a manner subscribed, and twenty who remained, were entrapped by *Valens*. Being allowed to add what protestation they pleased, he joyed to their Protestation, that *Christ* was not a Creature, as the rest of the Creatures, whereby he meant, though they perceived not his drift, that he only was a Creature, though more excellent and perfect, as the rest. When they had received and admitted this Clause, *Valens* and his Companions triumphed, saying, they had not affirmed the Son of God, nor to be a Creature, but only the most Excellent of Creatures, and herein like the rest. Now carried they all before them, inasmuch that the World groaned, and admired to see it self all turned *Arian*. And from those so contrary proceedings of this Council, it came to pass, that sometimes it is embraced by ancient Catholics sometimes it is utterly rejected as Erronious and Hæretical.

See. from lib. 2.

Ingenitatus orbis, Arius enim fessum miratur est, Hieron. ad Luc. 19.

Vide See. l. 2. c. 39. 40. 57. ex Sulpicio.

93. No better was the conclusion at *Seleucia*, where a Synod of about 160. Bishops was opened on the Twenty seventh of *September*. Here the *Arians* themselves were divided into two Factions, whilst some would have matters of Faith first handled, and others would take into consideration the Cases of Criminals, (whereof several, out of fear, pretending frivolous reasons, staid at *Seleucia*) both Parties alledging the Authority of the Emperours Letters, which were Ambiguously written. Some cried out against the making of new Forms of Faith, approving, as a Pattern, that which had been formerly drawn up at *Antioch*, at the Ecumenia or Dedication, which being to be subscribed, the other Party headed by *Acacius*, who had importuned them to abolish the *Nicene Creed*, and make a new one, would not subscribe themselves but by their Deputies, the Deacons, and Readers. This was done the first day of meeting, the Doors of the Church being fast locked, against which *Acacius* afterward protested, and by the assistance of *Leonas* a great Courtier, (who persuaded by the Emperours order) having got the Factions again together, when they thought he was about to read something else, produced a Creed with a Preface to it. Herein after he had inveighed against his Adversaries, he rejects quite the clauses of *Unity and Equality in Substance*, both as having no ground in Scripture, and as the occasions of great Contentions, yet withal accusing the Clause of *Inequality*, and holding all the Patrons and Favourers thereof as Excommunicated Persons. When he had said, *Sophronius*, Bishop of *Pompeopolis* in *Paphlagonia*, told him plainly, that if the new devices and daily invention of his brain were laid down for Creeds, it could not nor otherwise fall out, but that shortly they should be found without one grain of Faith. In his Creed he had affirmed the Son of God to be like his Father; in the midst of dispute he was asked wherein? To which he answered, that the Son was like the Father, not in substance, but only in Will and Mind, to which when it was replied, that in Books by him formerly written, he had held the Son to be in all things like the Father, he returned this answer, that no Man that ever was, of old time, or of late days, is wont to be tried by the Books he wrote. To such prodigious uncertainty and inconsistency doth Hæresie subject Mens minds. One while the *Arians* admit substance, sometimes not, one while like in all things, another only like, sometimes any thing but *Confubstantial*, other whiles scarcely any thing at all will be admitted.

94. *Leonas* provoked by those Diffentions above all patience, refused flatly to preside any more, and dissolved the Council, permitting them yet amongst themselves to meet in the Church where the *Samiarians* assembling, deprived *Acacius*, with *George* of *Alexandria*, and others of his Party. Deposing amongst the rest, *Eudoxius* of *Antioch*, they placed one *Arianus* in his See, whom after his Consecration, their Adversaries procured *Leonas* to banish, against which proceedings, after they had in vain protested, they sent ten Messengers to plead their Cause

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before

before the Emperour. Thus much writes *Socrates* of this Council, who speaks of it as Composed altogether of *Arians*, whereas *Hilary* in his Book against *Constantius*, makes mention of the Bishops of *Aegypt* their standing fast to the business of one Substance, all except *George* their Metropolitan. He explains further the meaning of *Acacius* his Creed, which rejecting both Confubstantiality and likeness of Substance, yet withall condemned Diffimilitude in the Son of God. For although they allowed him not to be like God as God, yet seeing he was the Son of his Will, rather than the Divinity, they allowed him like to his Father as such. But in that they held him neither to be God, nor begotten of the Substance of the Father, therefore they would not admit of the likeness of Substance. And here they disputed that in God there could be no Generation, because there was no Female, and they proceeded to such irreverent Terms as justly offended all Godly Ears.

95. But though the *Semiarrians* had dispatch their Messengers to the Emperour, *Acacius* was got before them, and to told his Tale, that *Constantius* who ever inclined to the worst and most rigorous Party, espoused his Quarrel. Yet must another Synod be called at *Constantinople*, whither were summoned out of the neighbouring *Byzintia* about Fifty Bishops, and a new Creed must be formed, wherein were abolished as formerly the word *Onfha* or *Substance*, and the Subsistence of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, forbidden once to be named. Having subscribed this Creed, they took the several Causes of Bishops into Consideration, but first after much Disputation condemned *Aetius* the Arch-Heretic. Then proceeding against such as they hated upon the account of private Grudges, in the first place they deposed *Macedonius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, partly because upon his account some Slaughter had been committed, but indeed to revenge the Emperour of him who fought an occasion to do him a mischief; it was also objected against him that he had admitted into Communion a certain Deacon taken in Adultery. They deposed also *Basilus* or *Basilas* who had succeeded *Marcellus* in the See of *Ancyra*, for tormenting a Man, for forging Slanders, and disparaging divers Persons, but indeed for that he withstood them so earnestly, being one of the Messengers sent from *Seleucia*. After this, as well they that came from *Seleucia* as those that from elsewhere were assembled at *Constantinople*, were commanded by the Emperour to subscribe that Creed which was lately sent from *Ariminum*, though different from the other of *Constantinople*, and to be observed in the West as this in the East. So dreadful was the condition of the Church at this time, whilst every year produced almost a new Creed, and by virtue of those all Churches were so disturbed, as neither could they know what to believe, nor any Pastor left to teach them, such changing and rechanging of Bishops happened in every Province. *Socrates* in admiration of this number of Creeds, reckons up how many had been made since the Council of *Nice*.

After that made by the *Nicene* Council, saith he, the Bishops framed two others at *Antioch* when they assembled to the Dedication of the Church. The Third was made by the Bishops in *Gall*, which were with *Narcissus* who exhibited it to the Emperour *Constantius*. The Fourth was sent by *Eudoxius* to the *Italian* Bishops. Three were in Writing published at *Sirmium*, whereof one being gloriously set out with the Names of the Consuls was read at *Ariminum*. The Eighth was published at *Seleucia* by the Complices of *Acacius*. The Ninth was this set forth at *Constantinople* with this addition, that thenceforth there should be no mention made of the Substance or Subsistence of God. Whereunto *Viphras* Bishop of the *Gorhs* then first subscribed, having till this time embraced the Faith established by the Council of *Nice*, and been an earnest Follower of *Theophilus* his Predecessor, who was at that Council and subscribed the Creed.

96. *Hilary* Bishop of *Poitiers* incensed against *Constantius* for those things, when he was now in Exile, wrote bitterly against him, which notwithstanding for reasons of State, the Emperour sent him hence to his own Bishoprick. *Macedonius* being banished *Constantinople* and succeeded by *Eudoxius*, (who had formerly intruded into the See of *Antioch*), now at length began to magnifie the clause of one Substance, but denied to the Holy Ghost the Honour of partaking thereof, together with the Father and the Son, affirming he was a Creature, and one of the Ministering Spirits, being only in Degree and Dignity above other Angels. The *Arians* gladly embraced this opinion, being so consonant to their own, that the noise of Contention about the Son of God, and the buying their

their brains about that Heresie, seemeth indeed the only cause why we hear no more of this. Into the See of *Antioch* after the removal of *Eudoxius* was elected both by the Orthodox and *Arians*, *Molestus* formerly Bishop of *Sebasta* in *Armenia*, each Party having a confidence in him, though he had formerly subscribed the Form of Faith which *Acacius* his Party framed at *Seleucia*. For some space after his Translation he meddled not with any Mysteries of Faith, but preached to his People such Doctrine as conduced to Virtue and a good Life; but afterwards he pressed them to the belief of the clause of one Substance, and to adhere to the *Nicene* Creed. Herewith the *Arians* much enraged, complained to the Emperour, who being then at *Antioch*, as well for this as other reasons, another Council was called. *Socrates* writes that the Faction of *Acacius* procured it, that they might have an opportunity of renouncing the Opinion they had formerly held, that the Son is in all things like the Father. After the deposition of *Molestus*, whom the Emperour banished, *Eusebius* (who formerly had been deposed, together with *Arius*) was by his order promoted to the Church of *Antioch*.

97. The *Arians* met together cannot but fall upon Matters of Faith, and it pained them to think of breaking up without the Production of a new Creed. They call in question what they had Decreed in time past, they affirm that the Clause of Likeness passed the Synods of *Ariminum* and *Constantinople*, is quite to be abandoned, and not once to be named any more; they now think it time to speak plain, and no more conceal their opinion that the Son is altogether unequal and unlike the Father, not only in Substance but also in Will, as also that, as *Arius* braved, he had his Original from nothing. They were therefore from holding this Heresie, that the Son is unlike the Father called *Anomius*, and from maintaining him to have proceeded from nothing named *Exuentius*. And so fruitful is Heresie of other monstrous Births, that from the Hive of *Arius* proceeded many other Swarms, distinguished either by the names of their Leaders, or the particular ways and methods which they took, as the *Eusebians*, *Photinians*, *Eudoxians*, *Acacians*, *Eusebians*, *Macedonians*, *Actians*, *Platyrans*, *Cyrilians* and *Dullans*. But when it was demanded of those *Acacians* why formerly they had given Christ the title of God of God, that professed they meant it in that sense the Apostle wrote, when he saith all things are of God. And therefore the Son is of God, inasmuch as he is included in the word *All*, for which cause they added in their Creed, According to the Scriptures. The Author of this Foolish Gloss was *George* Bishop of *Laodicea*, with whom the *Acacian* Faction joyning, though they were soundly charged with Sophistical dealing, yet weighed neither the Scandal nor the Censure. They repeated again the Form of Faith composed at *Constantinople*, which being done every one departed home.

98. Such was the liberty which this prophane conscious Age took to it self, of prying into the Mystery of the Holy Trinity, that innumerable were the Heresies it produced whilst such as were out of the way never could agree to walk together, and almost every particular Man made choice of a peculiar Path: Some that agreed to the clause of one Substance, yet fancied strange things as to the Incarnation, concerning which another Heresie was about this time broached by one *Apollonius* a Priest, and a Son he had of the same Name. These two using too much the Familiarity of *Epiphanius* the Sophist, when upon admonition they would not forbear his company, *George* Bishop of *Laodicea* Org. Nov. 11. Ep. ad Nestorium Basil. ep. 7. Hieron. in Cat. Gall. 12. 13. fearing lest they might by his means be drawn to Paganism, Excommunicated them both. Discontented hereat, or as some wrote, being scandalized with the *Arian* Doctrine of the Bishop, they fell off from the Church, and being not heeded, endeavoured to establish a new Doctrine. First they taught that God the word was Incarnate, without a Soul in a meer Body, again recanting the same, they affirmed, that he took a Soul, yet not the Mind nor Reason, but that the Godhead supplied the place thereof. Secondly, That he brought that Body with him from Heaven, and made it of the same Substance with his Divine Nature, and that this Body, when it came on Earth, was passible visible and mortal. Thirdly, That Sin is part of a Mans Essence, and therefore if Christ had been a perfect Man, he must needs have been a Sinner. But besides these a worse Sect arose in *Mesopotamia* about this time, from their Praying and Devotion called *Masalani*, *Spirituales*, and *Euchaites* or *Præcators*, the Founders of the Sect

Another Synod at Constantinople, and a new Creed.

How many Creeds were made since that of Nice.

Soc. l. 4. c. 42.

Thom. l. 4. c. 27. Soc. l. 4. c. 23. Soc.

Soc. Hist. 42.

An account of several Heresicks.

U. 4. c. 41.

Soc. l. 4. c. 45.

Thom. l. 4. c. 6. Sect

Señ being certain Monks who lived in the Deserts of that Country. They placed all Religion in Praying, mistled by a misunderstanding of that of the Apostles, *Pray without ceasing*, esteeming all other Offices of Devotion, Piety, and Virtue, as useless and unnecessary. They held that every Man had a Devil in him, even the Apostles themselves, which can no otherwise be ejected, than with this Spiritual Engine; that every Man had two Souls, whereof one more than Cælestial, and that by this, even with their bodily Eyes they were capable of beholding the Blessed Trinity. They pretended to strange Revelations, whereby they attained high Perfection, even as high as Christ himself, as also to triumph over Devils, upon which account they were called *Enthusiasts*.

99. But a Covetous Devil so far possessed them, that they denied any Alms ought to be given to any other, but themselves, because they were the truly poor in Spirit. They held it lawful to swear, and forswear, and taught Children, that it was lawful to disobey their Parents, so that the Gift or Corban were but brought into their Box. They pretended to Perfection in this Life, to so high a degree, that they could be impeccable in thought; had a strange fancy concerning Spiritual Purgation, as if a Sow and Pigs were seen to go out at a Mans Mouth; and visible Fire, yet without the Propriety of burning, to enter in. Such a virtue they made in Prayer, that it thrust out Devils in Excrements, through the Mouth, and other parts, being quite contrary in this opinion to the Doctrine of other Monks in *Agypt* about the same time, who refrained from avoidance of all Excrements, as a Sin, because Christ said, that *those things which come out of a Man, defile a Man*, never considering the Explication of the Text, in which respect they condemned Marriage. So strangely did the Spirit of Error possess Monks at this time, who by their Devotions and Solitary Life, contracted as much of Spiritual Pride, as Melancholly, that some would, as too Holy, pray with no others, and therefore both celebrated, though Lay-men, Holy Offices, and Ordained themselves Bishops, others castrated themselves, some Rebaptized such as turned from *Arianism*, and others behaved themselves suitably to those Extravagancies as *Epiphanius* hath related.

100. So fruitful was *Constantius* his Reign of Heresies and Schisms, that the Church could scarcely perceive her self free from those Calamities which the preceding *Pagan* times had inflicted. For though her Sufferings from without were removed, yet she laboured under such inward Pressures, as almost equalled her former Troubles. Her best and most genuine Sons being so roughly handled by those who challenged the same Original, that she seemed even to slight the Friendship of the Scepter, which had defended her indeed from her sworn and protested Enemies, but had still kept her Eyes as moist as ever, by assisting her false, though highly pretending Friends, in the Persecution of those most dear unto her. Her cries were at length heard, and his days were accomplished, who was the furtherer of her sorrow. For *Constantius*, who had so long robbed the Son of God of his Glory, was now well nigh deprived of his own Earthly Diadem, and although he escaped Deprivation, yet it was by no less charge and price, than of his own Life, giving place to him who had fought it, and unwillingly resigning his Seat to that Person, for whom, he had in his thoughts designed no other Mansions, than those of the dead. He according to the depraved Custom of those times, deferred also his Baptism to his death, and then receiving it at the Hands of *Euzoius* the *Arian* Bishop of *Antioch*, sealed as it were that Doctrine at his end, which he had so much defended in his Life. Yet did he much advance the common name and Interest of Christianity, improving his Power and Authority for the Suppression of *Pagan* Superstition, and carrying on that Reformation which his Father so happily had begun. This because the continued Series of those *Arian* Controversies permitted us not hitherto to describe, we shall now see what Laws he made in reference to Religion. For by them the State and Condition of times is more fully known, than otherwise. Particular Relations of private Persons may fail, their discovery being more uncertain, their Fear, Affection, and other Impediments more prevalent. But from the nature and course of the Remedy, we may best distinguish and judge of the Distemper.

101. And the first we shall take notice of is that Crime of Adultery, a Sin, which because such, it concerned Magistrates to prevent as Christians, and because of such a nature as to confound gentilities, and procure too great Thefts and Robberies, as of whole Inheritances, it behoved them to prevent, as Fathers of their Country. The Emperours therefore, in the Third Year of their Reign, and the Consulship of *Constantius* and *Valens*, by a (a) Constitution, inflicted death upon Adulterers as Sacrilegious against Marriage, not fearing the censure of Heresie for so doing, which had they lived in the time of (b) *Bianus*, they had certainly incurred. This same year they (c) forbid Christian Women to marry with Jews, as thereby taking themselves into great Temptations. And by another (d) Constitution, taking care lest incestuous Marriages, a thing too frequent in those days, should defile the Christian Faith, they forbid that any Man Marry his Brothers or Sisters Daughter. Perceiving how Religious Zeal is apt to run into the other extreme, that whilst it mends, it is always thereby apt to marr, and to change Superstition for Sacrilege, Delation, and Rapine, in their Fourth Year, and the Consulship of *Acyndinus* and *Proculus*, they were constrained to obviate that humour which ever rages in Reformation. Christianity now having spread far and wide throughout the Empire, and Christians encouraged by the Profession of Princes, very zealously opposed whatever they thought tended to Idolatry, and therefore having in their Grounds many Sepulchres consecrated, as was the Custom of old to the *Dii Mares*, those without any regard to the Memory of their Ancestors, or Piety to the Dead, they did not only demolish, but convert all Ornaments of Sepulchre to vile and base uses. To stop therefore this current, and to prevent the objection of Pagans, that Christianity divested its Professors of Humanity, (e) a Law was made at *Milan*, against such who should violate those Monuments of the Dead, and convert the Marble and Pillars thereto belonging to other uses.

102. Neither could the Heathens take any encouragement hereat, whilst a distinction was made betwixt Superstition and Irreverence. Indeed notwithstanding what had been done by *Constantine*, and the discouragement given by the present Princes, yet very many, and those of the greatest Ranks, as Senators, and others, were both at this time Pagans, and continued such a long time after. But that by degrees the work might be brought to perfection, *Constantius* in the Fifth Year of his Reign, and the Consulship of *Marcellinus* and *Probinus*, Enacts a (a) Law against Idolaters, which forbids all sorts of Persons to offer Sacrifice. This notwithstanding, the old Inhabitant was so unwilling to be dispossessed and spoiled of his Goods, that Five Years after, there was need of another Edict, (b) whereby the Emperours *Constantius* and *Constant* command the Temples of *Pagans*, which stood within the Walls of Cities, to be shut up, not thinking it fit to proceed further, but permitting those that stood without, to remain in the same condition as formerly. Yet this Constitution seemeth to have had this effect, that the Year following the ancient Centenary *Sacral Games*, of which we have already spoken largely, were not celebrated, the *Pagans* it seems being discouraged, or fearing to be hindered, if they went about it. Notwithstanding what *Constantine* had done, for the encouragement of the Clergy, in freeing them from publick Offices of charge and trouble (which he even granted to the Jewish Priests) yet this was so far forgotten, that *Constantius* in his Thirteenth Year makes another Law, (c) whereby he sets free Clerks and their Sons from all *Curial* Employments, and from all disturbance of Civil Offices.

103. The Traitor *Magentius* before the Commission of his execrable parricide against *Constant*, in compliance with the times, made Profession of the Christian Faith. But when he had set up for himself, either out of his own Inclination, or which is as probable, to strengthen his Party against *Constantius*, he seems to have revolted from it; for he then restored those Sacrifices which formerly had been forbidden, as appears from the (a) Code of *Theodosius*. These Crimes procuring vengeance from Heaven upon him, his Reign was not of such length, as thereby much to endamage Christianity, to which some amends was made by *Gallus Cæsar*, who seemed for the small time he continued in Power, to be very zealous for Religion, and contributed to the Reformation. This appeared as soon as he was promoted to be *Cæsar*, when lying at *Antioch* he took occasion to rid that place of a very notable piece of Idolatry. There was in the

His Laws
Ecclesiastical.

(a) Cod Theod. lib. 1. c. 36. §. 4.

(b) Adulterum morte militari debere decere, non modo uxorem incestuam, sed etiam hereticam detestari oportet. *Bianus* in nostro aut Consul. *Constantinus*.

(c) C. Th. l. 1. c. 6. §. 6.

(d) C. Th. l. 1. c. 12. §. 1.

(e) C. Theod. l. 1. c. 2. de sepul. violand.

(a) C. Th. l. 2. de Paganis.

(b) C. Th. l. 6. tit. 8. §. 3. 4.

(c) C. Th. l. 1. c. 2. §. 2.

(a) De Paganis ut supra.

Constantius being baptized by Euzoius the Arian Bishop of Antioch.

The Grove of
Daphne de-
stroyed.

Suburbs of that City the famed Grove of *Daphne*, so much celebrated by Poets, and other Heathen Writers, for its Consecration to *Apollo*, and a Temple and Oracle of the Devil. Being much haunted still by the Superstitious *Gentiles*, he concluded he should spoil all their sport if he removed thither the Body of *Babylas* the Martyr, some time Bishop of that See. This being done, both what he had designed did succeed, and what was much more observable, that the Devil could not utter thence any Oracle as long as the Body there continued, which he confessed to *Julian* afterwards, whereas it was commonly thought, that this happened because no Sacrifices were offered. Thus did *Galus* effect that which his Uncle *Constantine* seemeth to have purposed unsuccessfully, who to abolish the Memory of *Apollo* in *Daphne*, had there erected his Mother *Helena's* Statue, had called the place *Augustale*, and after himself *Constantiniana Daphne*, giving also to the Twenty third Legion, which he had lately raised, the name of *Constantiniana Dafenfis*, as from several ancient Medals, and Inscriptions, it doth appear.

Pagan who.

104. But *Constantius*, that he might prevent all Treason against his Person, or remove that, which otherwise, through Gods displeasure, might endanger his Cause, when he undertook his Expedition against *Magentius*, and *Veraunio*, cashiered all his Souldiers, who were not already, or now refused, to be Baptized, though he himself deferred it till his Death. It happened upon this occasion, that such as refused Baptism, were called *Pagani* or *Pagans*, which word being first peculiar to those that were not Souldiers, in contradistinction to Military Men, became after this, a common name of all *Ethnicks*. *Baronius* thinks that the *Gentiles* might be so called from this reason, that when the Idol-Temples were shut up in Cities, they retired into the *Pagi* or *Villages*, to perform their Superstitious Rites, which they did till the time of *Honorius* or longer. *Honorius* the Emperour using the word in this sense, interprets it, as meaning the *Gentiles*, so that it had not been long in use, as applicable to Idolaters. *Baronius* tells us, the first he finds thus to use it, is *Optatus Milentianus*, who wrote against *Parmenianus*, in the Reign of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, and he contends against such as would produce *Tertullian* to the contrary. The word *Gentile* was taken from the *Jews*, but at this time the *Romans*, when they used this word, understood thereby *Barbarians*, as appeareth by the Rescripts of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, out of the Code of *Theodosius*.

105. In the time of *Constantius* it seemeth, that Secular Judges drew Bishops into their Courts, and would take cognisance of Matters peculiar to them, and purely Ecclesiastical, which upon complaint of *Hilary* Bishop of *Poitiers*, the Emperour taking into Consideration, by a (a) Constitution dated on the first of *October*, in the Nineteenth Year of his Reign, and the Consulship of *Arbetio* and *Lollianus*, forbids Bishops to be accused in Secular Courts, permitting their Causes to be decided by their Brethren, which is to be understood of Ecclesiastical. The next Year after, taking notice how much Idolatry yet was practiced, notwithstanding all former Laws, he in conjunction with *Julian* (who though a Pagan in his Heart, was at this time glad to dissemble) publisheth severe (b) Rescripts against *Aruspices*, *Mathematicians*, *Magicians*, *Diviners*, and such like Creatures, with those that should consult them; as also against such as sacrificed to Idols, or worshipped their Images, making those Crimes Capital, like a severe vindicator of the Christian Religion, as he styles himself; But this was done rather in terror, the Rod was shaken, but seldom or never did it strike Idolaters, however it might reach the Fortune-tellers, against whom the Emperour might be acted by other reasons besides those of Religion. The Emperours in the following Year, and the One and twentieth of *Constantius*, (c) except from the general Collation to which Tradesmen were bound, the Clerks called *Clerici Copiatores*, that is the *Libitinarii*, or those that ordered Matters belonging to Burials, *Vespillones* or *Bearers*, *Pollintiores*, or those that washed and anointed dead Bodies. They also confirmed Priviledges formerly granted to the Roman Church, out of consideration of the Dignity of that ancient Metropolis. This same Year also *Constantius* wrote a Rescript to the People against Inchanters, such as disturbed the Elements and raised Spirits; and to *Orfitus* Praefect of the City, against such as exhibited the old shews of the Gladiators. It was in the Praefectship of this *Orfitus*, that the great Obelisk was removed by order of *Constantius* from *Alexandria* to *Rome*, and there placed in the Great Cique, which long

Vide Baro-
nium ad
A.D. 351.

Vide annot.
ad l. i. Cod. leg.
de Pagani.

(a) C. Theod.
l. i. de Episc.
& Cler.

(b) C. Theod. 16.
l. 1. §. 1. de
Episc. & Cler.
& Pagan.

(c) C. Theod. 1.
l. 1. §. 1. de
Episc. & Cler.

C. Th. l. 1.
de mulier.
l. 1. de gladiat.

long time after *Sixtus Quintus* translated into the *Lateran Pallace*, and made Christian by a Cross erected on the top thereof.

106. The Year following being the Two and twentieth of his Reign, and in the Consulship of *T. Fabius Dacianus*, and *Neratinus Cerealis*, he published, amongst other Constitutions, another Law against the several sorts of Diviners, and Fortune-tellers, whom if they were found in the Court, he subjected to Tortures. It is probable that something he had smelt out, concerning *Julian*, and what tricks he plaid at this time in *Gall*, where and elsewhere, when he could privately, he gave up himself to Magick, as we have formerly shewed out of *Ammianus*, who cannot, though a Pagan, forbear to accuse him of excess in this Particular. From him also we may learn, that *Constantius* was about this time much moved against Idolaters, who still continued their Sacrifices, and consulted Oracles, notwithstanding all his Laws formerly published against those Superstitions, which carried him out to that Severity, that such as should but be found to wear Amulets about them against Dificases, as the *Quartan Ague*, or were seen to wander about the Tombs, he subjected to Condemnation. And as he bent his endeavours thus to eradicate Pagan Superstitions, so did he curse the *Jews*, with whom he would not have Christians to Marry, or have Communion. The Infarction they made in his Seventeen Year was so provoking, that *Galus Caesar*, to suppress their Rebellion, destroyed many thousands of Men, Women, and Children, and burnt many of their Towns. In the same Year died *Rabha*, their great Doctor both in the School called *Sarana*, and the other named *Pambirana*, to whom succeeded *Nachman* the Son of *Isaac*. In the Two and twentieth Year of *Constantius*, *Hillel* the Second, the Son of *Judas*, began the Computation, which the *Jews* use at this day. He built upon the Foundations laid formerly by *Hillel* the First, his Progenitor, who died A. D. 10. He took this for a Principle, that the Vernal Equinoctial fell out on the Twenty third of *March*, which was true in the days of *Hillel* the First; but the date was altered in the time of the Younger, and the said Two and twentieth Year of the Emperour *Constantius*.

Hierem. in
Gheron.

Isaacus Cap-
pulus & Zenciro
& Abrahami
Cathala.

M

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

From the Reign and Apostacy of Julian to the Second Œcumenical Council held at Constantinople.

The space of Twenty Years wanting five Months.

1. **T**he Tares of Arrainism were now grown so forward and flourishing that there wanted a Winter to check their growth, lest they should choke the Corn, and quite overrun the Lords Husbandry. As Friends, when they fall out, give advantage to such as seek the ruin of both Nations, and formerly allied, being once grown wanton through Prosperity, first quarrel and weaken each other, then lye open to Foreign attempts, and in contention for the Fens, and the right of Sovereignty, are made a prey by one that hovers above them both, for a fit advantage so happened it to Christians after the death of *Constantine*. *Flavius Claudius Julianus* his Cousin German and Successor (though against his will) having been Educated in the Christian Religion, yet from a Child, if we believe *Ammianus*, was much inclined to Paganism, and if we credit himself, had for the space of Ten years, though privately for fear of *Constantine*, yet Really and Cordially addicted himself to that Superstition, resolving that if ever his Stars so wrought as to make him Master of the *Roman Empire*, to recall from Exile his banished Gods, restore them their Temples, rebuild their Altars, and kindle again those Fires which the late zeal of his Predecessors had almost extinguished, without any hopes of resuscitation. But this he thought he must effect by degrees, and used such arts as in contemplation of those means which he perceived had formerly been applied unsuccessfully, were most proper and likely to bring about his design.

Julian the Emperor.

2. His severity against the Eunuchs and other Courtiers of *Constantine*, though proceeding from private indignation and revenge, yet being joyned with Justice, and meeting with the same passions and interests in others (who had smarted under the late grievances, as well as himself) procured him applause and good esteem. He seemed to be sensible of the injustice of the *Arians*, and the hard usage of the Orthodox, whom he restored to their Countries, Sees, Livings, and Estates. But though at first he compelled none to his own way, and never lived to ripen those projects which he had laid as previous to that design, yet did he take the course of all those who prudently resolve to turn the strong Current of the Multitude, first to discountenance dissentions, and give an indifferent liberty to all, yet so as to shew by his practice, what he himself approved, till by securing himself of the main chance, and getting firm possession of the Sovereignty, having once gained the Posts of greatest concernment, and made himself Master of all the avenues, he could turn the Engines of Peace, which are the Laws, against those who had lately been possessed of them, and then at length enjoy, when had Obedience within his beck. His indulgence therefore extended as well to Hereticks as Orthodox. Some of that sort, as *Ætius*, and others being in Exile. To all alike he gave liberty of Conscience, Inhibiting Constraint and Force, which he knew, if it came once to blows, would be first put upon his own Party, when the Christians, who filled all places within the Empire, should betake themselves to other Weapons besides their ancient Prayers and Tears. He commanded the Temples of Idols to be opened, offered himself at the Sacrifices, and not content with the Devotion and Attendance of an ordinary Pagan, both took upon him the Office and Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, according to the custom of his Heathen Ancestors, (in which he was Initiated with the ordinary Ceremonies), and was also made *Pontife* over the *Æleynia*, and ordained other inferior *Pontifes* which he distributed into the Provinces.

Heretickses all Religions.

3. In

3. In compliance with this opportunity, offered the Exiled Bishops return to their own Sees, and amongst the rest *Arbanasius* the great Champion of Christs Divinity. Some say he appeared in his Church soon after the Death of *Constantine*, but *Gregory Nazianzen*, in the work which he consecrated to his praise, faith, he returned thither after the Death of *George*, who being both hateful to God and Man, came to such an end, as his Carriage and Demourance had deserved. For besides what we have formerly said of his Cruelties, his Avarice and Extorsions were great, wherewith he haraied the *Alexandrians*. *Epiphanius* writes, that he spoiled many of them of their Patrimonies, that he ingrossed to himself the trade of Nitre, and of the Salt-pits, procured the Monopole of Paper, and making a gain out of the vilest sorts of Materials, brought up a new Order of *Leticarii* or Biere-Carriers in the Church, which he restrained to a certain Number to be at his Devotion, suffering none, but those by himself appointed, to be employed in the Burial of the Dead. This was far from any care of seeing Christians decently Interred, his design was only his own profit, not to speak, faith he, of his last Cruelties. Being deposed in the Council of *Seleucia*, by the *Semarian* Faction, he regarded not at all the Censure, but returned to *Alexandria*, where not at all daunted, he fell upon his former Courses, plaguing as well the *Gentiles* as the Orthodox Christians. By these means he became so odious to all Parties and Conditions, that a fit occasion only was wanting to dispatch him out of the way, and that at length presented it self; about which, though there be some Variation in Writers as to the manner, yet all agree in the Substance.

Arbanasius returns to Alexandria upon the death of George.

Socrus.

4. That the Emperour had given him Licence to Convert the ancient Temple of *Mithras* or the *Sun*, which had layn a long time desolate, into a Christian Church, is affirmed by Ecclesiastical Writers, and that great heaps of Slaughtered Bodies which had been offered to that Idol, being found therein, were by the Christians exposed to publick view, to render the more odious the Irreligion and Impiety of the *Gentiles*. Hereby grievously incensed, and formerly provoked, by his insolencies having got advantage, and encouraged by the profession of *Julian*, they fell upon him, and slew him in the place. *Ammianus* tells the Story thus, that passing once by the Goodly Temple, dedicated to the Genius of the place, with many People according to the Custom waiting on him; casting his Eyes upon it after a scornful fashion, how long, said he, shall those ruines continue undemolished? Upon report hereof, the *Pagans* furiously enraged, and hearing in the very nick of time, that their Governour was newly dead, they gladly laid hold on the opportunity, not quieting themselves till they had torn a Man so generally hated, into almost a thousand pieces. *Ammianus* relates, as causes of the Peoples fury, that he had incensed the Emperour against them, accusing them as turning against his Government, that he was an Informer, and to curry favour with the Prince, had buzzed into his credulous Ears, that all Houses in the City built by *Alexander* the Founder at the publick charges, he might justly appropriate to his Exchequer. Some imputed his death to the favours of *Arbanasius*, but it is generally agreed on, that he was killed by the Universal consent both of Christians and Heathens, for the reasons we have recited. The Emperour seemed at first exceedingly incensed, threatening bitter things against the Murderers, but at length qualifying his passion, it sufficed him to chide them by a Letter, wherein he lays the fault upon all in general, for those Causes before mentioned, these take from him the reputation of a Martyr, seeing it is the Cause, not the Punishment, that maketh such, and deny him the Title of Saint. Upon which account we cannot have such hard thoughts of Tradition, as to think him the same with St. *George* the English Patron.

The manner of his death.

** Apud Socr.*
l. 1. c. 1.

5. *Arbanasius* coming to his See, after the removal of *George*, was received with all joy imaginable. The *Arians*, banished from the Congregation, held their Conventicles in private Houses, and Elected *Lucius* to succeed in the Bishoprick, which notwithstanding, he went on in his way without impediment in the discharge of his Episcopal Function. In the mean time *Lucifer* Bishop of *Caraltanum* in *Sardinia*, and *Eusebius* Bishop of *Vercellæ*, a City, as *Socrates* tells us, of *Ligurian* Italian, being amongst others recalled by the Emperours Edict, considering how they might recover their Bishopricks with most quiet, and agreeably with the Canons, resolved that the one should go to *Antioch*, and the other to *Alexandria*, to procure a Council wherein those matters might be debated. *Lucifer* sending his Deacon to *Alexandria*, to signify his assent to the Decrees

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of

of the Synod departed for *Antioch*, where he found the State of that Church much out of order, a great variance and division being in the People, as well, as by reason of the Heretical opinions of *Euzoius*, as also because the Favourers of *Meletius* and the Orthodox were at odds, those looking upon him as Ordained by *Arians*, though he held not their opinions. *Lucifer* Ordained *Paulinus* Bishop of that See. *Eusebius* arriving at *Alexandria*, dealt earnestly with *Athanasius* about the summoning of a Council, to which many Confessors, who had lately dared to shew their heads, being summoned, they Condemned the several *Doctrines of Arians, Apollinarians, and Macedonians*. They affirmed the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, as being of one substance in the Blessed Trinity, and that the Son of God at his Incarnation, took not only Humane Flesh, but a reasonable Soul also, as the ancient Fathers had delivered.

6. The Fathers perceiving that there was some difference of terms betwixt the Greek and Latin Churches, in the word *Essence*, and *Substance*, and *Hypostasis*, though they agreed in substance by reason of the several proprieties of Speech; by the perswasion of *Athanasius*, subscribing to the same thing in substance, were contented to lay aside those words which occasioned the difference, and to use no other than those found in the Scriptures, except in case of Errors, for a clearer discerning and judging of them. Taking into consideration the Multiplicity of Creeds, they concluded to lay all aside, except that of the *Nicean Council*, rejecting the Confession made at *Sardica*, as well as the rest; *Athanasius* being also very sensible what imputations the *Arians* had laid upon his retirement in those times of Persecution, which they called deserting of his place and trust, he took this occasion of clearing himself, and recited his Apology for his flight into the Wilderness. But there was another thing which gave greater occasion to this Meeting, and took up the greatest debate, occasioned by the late *Arian* Persecutions. Several through infirmity had subscribed, and acted against their Consciences, the Terrors of Exile, and Tortures, having wrested from them a Compliance, which notwithstanding those that had made resistance and stood out, so censured them, that they held them unworthy of Communion, as also such as had any charitable opinion of them. This proved such a growing Evil, as stood in need of a speedy Remedy, for which Cause many out of all parts, both *Asia* and *Italy*, as well as *Africa*, had recourse unto this Council. After much debate, wherein some would have debarred those that had fallen from the Sacred Orders; it was resolved, that such as had relapsed through infirmity, or miscarried through ignorance, should upon repentance be received into Communion, and to their former Places. By this Decree, which was but conformable to what the Church had practiced in the like Cases of *Samositanus*, the *Novatians*, and *Donatists*, the World was rescued out of the Jaws of the Devil, saith St. Hierome.

7. The Resolutions and Decrees of the Council, being dispersed amongst the Churches, did much good. But as God works good out of Evil, so the Devil will be sure to work Evil out of Good, and turn that to poison, which was intended as a Remedy. *Eusebius*, after the Council was broken up, went to *Antioch*, where finding much difference about the Election of *Paulinus*, he endeavoured to Compose them to no purpose, and so got him home to his own Bishoprick. From the State of affairs, he found reason to dislike of the Ordination of *Paulinus*, which *Lucifer* understanding, took it as a disparagement to his Judgment, and growing impatient, refused to Communicate with *Eusebius*. From this Indignation he arose to that height, as to quarrel with the determinations of the Synod, and made a Schism from the Church, wherein he died, giving Name to a Sect, which continuing to the time of *Socrates*, were from him called *Luciferians*. *Eusebius*, from *Antioch* passed through the Eastern Countries, strengthening such as were weak in the Faith, and instructing them in the Doctrine of the Church, whence he travelled into *Iblyrium*, and coming into *Italy*, in like sort he diligently preached the word of God. *Athanasius* in like manner so managed his business at *Alexandria*, that the Church proceeded in a very flourishing Condition, till the *Arians* envying him this Felicity, joyned with the common Enemy, and moved *Julian* against him, who by this time had so far settled his business, and carried on his Design, as to be almost ripe for Blood and Slaughters. We must a little observe his Methods, and trace his Steps; for his Policies in his own judgment were very refined, and such as noted his Predecessors of indirection.

8. His first Principle was, that Christians were not to be compelled to his Religion, concluding with himself, that should he proceed to Death and Tortures, they would, as he had observed of former Persecutions, and as he himself was wont to Phrase it, flye as fast, and as thick to Martyrdom, as Bees to a Hive; and thereby gain both greater Reputation and Accession to Christianity. He thought that those whom death could not fright, yet Disgrace and lingering Penury might drive to Idolatry. Therefore he barred to them all accels of Honours and Employments, and when he was about to march towards *Perfia*, took from all such Souldiers the Military Girdle, as refused to Sacrifice to the *Pagan Deities*. He thought Scoffing and Derision Engines able to batter that Faith, which the Sword could not reach, and accordingly made it his business to flout at, and jeer both the Christian Name and Profession, giving *Christ* himself no other Title than that of *Galilean*, calling the Worshipers of him *Galileans*, and this he did not only in his ordinary talk, but in his Epistles and Rescripts, and at length commanded by a Law, that no otherwise they should be called. He thought that if once he could deprive them of their Teachers, their Zeal, which those continually kept warm, would at length insensibly cool, and come to nothing. This made him take away such Stipends, Lands, and publick Salaries, as formerly had been granted by *Constantine* and his Sons, to the publick Ministry. And that as well Priests as People, might, through ignorance, have their Spirits abused, and their Wits without edge; whereby they might be exposed as well to the Contempt, as insinuations of their Enemies, he forbade they should be instructed in any of the liberal Arts and Sciences.

9. The Glorious advantages of Christian Religion, being (as an Apostle) known unto him, he endeavoured to transfer upon his *Pagan* impiety. Being Conscious himself of the Virtues of Christians, and how much they adorned their holy Profession, he pressed upon all sects of Philosophers, whom as the Champions of his Cause, he much cherished, the advantages of a good Life, which was to be answerable to their Preferences. To this purpose he appointed, that some should be set apart to instruct the People throughout the Towns and Villages, and in a familiar way, to reduce the speculative part of Philosophy into Precepts. The Poor he also took care for, that such as could not work might be relieved, and the Sick not perish for want of things necessary to their recovery. Reputing those means most effectual, and as deep and prevalent Mysteries for accomplishing that, in a Calm and Serene manner, which all the fury of so many Ages could not compass, he added some little Arts and Tricks to cheat the Christians, and trappan them into Idolatry. Having removed the Cross, which *Constantine* had added to the *Labarum* or Standard of the Empire, and reduced it to the ancient *Pagan* Model, he also added to the Images of himself, some Pictures of his Gods, as *Mars*, *Mercury*, and *Serapis*, that in the Ceremonies paid to his own Majesty the reverence of those Idols might be included. Such Victuals as were sold in the Market, he would cause to be polluted by things offered to his Idols, and Springs to be sprinkled with their Holy Water.

10. By these Courses presuming he could undermine Christianity, he Vigorously prosecuted the reinforcement of decayed Paganism. This was both by his own example, by opening the Doors of Preference to *Pagans*, and them alone, and also by taking from Christian Discipline such Punishments of prudential Orders, Rites, and Customs, as he thought might be productive of Peace, Security and Establishment. To this purpose, he intended to erect publick Schools in each City; in the Temples he would have observed such manners of Worship, such Seats and Benches as the Christians used, placed one above another; reading and explanation of prophane Authors, both in the Theoretick and Practick part, with Alternate Prayers, and Hymns, Animadversions upon Offenders, with penitence and satisfaction enjoined. He purposed to build Hospitals, as also Monasteries both for Men and Women, exhorting the Pontifices to set about it at the publick and private charge, as *Nicephorus* writes, and approving much the way of Letters. Commendatory for distressed Persons, he took this course of transmitting them from one Place and Country into another. Then did he spur those on, who were ready enough to turn of themselves, to the restitution of Temples, Sacrifices, and other rites of the *Gentiles*, and herein when many Christians, who had been instruments in demolishing those Buildings, which the Laws had ordered to be pulled down, were miserably abused, and Murdered; he not only connived at those things

Julian's policies and principles against the Christians

Vide Sac. in Epist. c. 6. etc.

Nations. Cicer. de lib.

Ruffin. p.

Sac. c. 9.

A Council held at Alexandria.

The Schism of the Luciferians.

things, but encouraged them in such Outrages. Many also, whom their Zeal so far transported, as to revile him for his Apostacy, and oppose his Actions, he commanded to be put to death, and applauded most horrid Murders and Mifdeeds upon this account committed throughout the Empire. Such as refused to Sacrifice, and threw away the Military Girdles, though upon other Pretences, he would find some opportunity or other to disgrace, and even put to death, if he perceived they were of Interest to oppose his Designs, and if he could spare them in his Wars. At length when he had so far brought about his design, as to be something secure of his Cause, the Christians continuing steadfast to their old Principle, of suffering rather than Rebelling, though they opposed his Proceedings now and then, as to particular places and things, and ceased not to tell him his own plainly; he purposed to make away the most eminent Bishops, such as were Fathers of the Church, and Props of the Christian Religion. For this purpose, though at the first he pretended to be a Lover of Union and Peace, now he began to cherish their Differences, and use them against one another. And had he returned from the Persian War with good success, it was his Resolution for that Victory, to have offered an Holocaust of *Gallileans* to his Gods, and have tied Christianity to his Triumphal Chariot.

11. The effects of all these Arts and Mysteries, was a change of the Scene for so short a time as he play'd his Tragedy, whereby one might behold nothing but Sacrifices and Incense upon the Stage, which was changed into a Temple, the Diadem transformed into a Miter, and the Scepter into a Sooth-sayers Rod; Dumb Devils in several shapes running too and fro, but in great Anxiety, as afraid of those, who were now constrained to act the Parts of Fools, and forced to put on the Vizards of Idiots, that they might afford matter of Triumph, and Insultation. The Priest wearing a great Beard, and a Stole, whereon were wrought Images of Bulls-heads, taking great pains to restore decay'd Altars, then cringing, and conjuring his obliged Deities to grace him with a verbal Incouragement, that he might know they were still in being, and assert their right against the late Intrusion of those miserable Sacrilegious Wretches, whom (the Gods approving, and prospering their own Cause, and Restitution to their ancient right, against which no Prescription could be pleaded,) he doubted not by most likely means, and due methods, to remove quite out of the way, being, as he well understood, a great eye-sore to *Apollo*, for whom he had furnished and prepared his Antient and Royal Pallace. *Apollo* knowing his Reign was at an end, and a period set to his Usurpation, would fain have put him off, as unwilling to show his weakness; and having been Dumb for so many years, it was grown even a trouble to him to speak; but unwilling he should know the true cause, and thereby discover his weakness, as well as Treason, he gave him such an answer, as shewed his Antipathy to the Servants, and Loyal Subjects of his Lord and Master, whereby he might stir him up to Persecute them, and carry on his own work, which he was glad to see done, though more sorry to think it would be but for a moment. For the Priest hereat enraged, and many Scuffles ensuing betwixt him, his Servants, and those whom he termed Varlets, and Sacrilegious, when his Choler was up, and he had resolved to renew the ancient Devices of his Predecessors against them, by adding Violence to his former Stratagems. The Lord and Master both of *Apollo*, of him, and all his, did but beckon to an Enemy of the Priest, whom he had reserved behind the Curtain, and he breaks into the House of the Priest, upon which news he retires, lays aside his Miter, and resumes his Diadem. After a little expectation, word was brought that the sport was at an end, for the Priest was slain; whereupon *Apollo* gave up all for lost, yet resolved to play at small Games rather than sit out, and promote the differences he knew full well to be amongst his Enemies, which prosperity he thought would not at all lessen. And so the Act abruptly ended.

12. Such, if the Gravity of History permit us to use those Terms and Resemblances, was the Tragedy to which *Julian* fitted all his Preparations. The Religion countenanced, and therefore Rampant was the Pagan Impiety Authority and Laws, trampling upon Christianity, and exposing it to the derision of its professed Enemy. The Emperor, though taking care for Reformation of all Idol-Temples, yet was especially concerned for the Temple of *Apollo* at *Daphne*, which he knew his Brother, his Uncle, and Cousins had most despised, because of the Oracle, which, although since the coming of Christ, the Devil had been dumb for the most part, as appears from many Testimonies, and especially from that Book of *Plutarch*, which would fain resolve the question why Oracles were

were ceased, yet it seems did sometimes, for the Incouragement of Pagans, give them all answers. For those Christian Writers which make mention of those Passages, tell us, how the Body of *Babylus*, being removed into the Grave, though it drove him not quite away, yet put the Devil to silence, and that several reasons were given thereof, amongst which this obtained most credit, that it was because no Sacrifices were offered. *Julian* being now at *Antioch*, made an experiment, offering Sacrifices in abundance, but *Apollo* still continued dumb, at which the Emperor much disquieted, when he provoked him to answer, at length had this return, *That the Grove was defiled with dead Bodies*. There needed no Exposition upon this Oracle, *Julian* knowing that the Body of *Babylus* was hereby meant, which he commanded to be removed. Yet he did not offer any Indignity to the Reliques of that Holy Martyr, which the Citizens of *Antioch*, with great Solemnity, carried back into the City, singing *Psalms* in the way, and this Verse amongst others, *Confounded be all they that worship carved Images, and that delight in vain Gods*; whereupon many were laid in hold, and some were tortured.

13. *Sozomen* here relates a remarkable Passage of one *Theodorus* a young Man, whom being set upon the Rack, amidst his Torments an Angel comforted, allaying his pains, wiping off the Sweat, and refreshing his Limbs with cool Water. He thus strengthened and assisted, sung the said Verse with greater Alacrity, which invincible Resolution being made known to the Emperor, he considered, that if he proceeded in his course, he should loose, and the Christians gain Reputation, and gave order they should all be discharged. The reason why he was removed with such Honour, might very well be the experience he had had of the Divine Vengeance upon some of his own Relations, as *Julianus* his Uncle, Prefect of the East, and *Felix*, Prefect of his Exchequer, whom being formerly Christians, he had by his example drawn into the Fellowship of Apostacy. These two being sent by him to the *Dominicum Aureum*, as it was called, that sumptuous Church built at *Antioch* by *Constantine*, to fetch thence the Treasure; *Julianus* first caused *Theodorus* a Priest that kept it, when he refused to discover it, to be tortured, and when that would not do, to be beheaded, pissed against the Holy Table, gave *Euzois* a box on the Ear, who would have hindred him, and sate him down upon the Holy Vessels, whereof *Felix* viewing their Magnificence, said, *Look with what sumptuous Vessels is the Son of Mary served!* But Vengeance presently seized on them both, *Julianus* his Members and Bowels putrifying in such a sort, that he could thence void any Excrements, which he vomited through his Blasphemous Mouth, till he miserably perished. *Felix* suddenly died by Bleeding at the Mouth. And other Apostates by sudden death began to receive the reward of their Impieties.

14. But when *Julian* had purged the Grave and Temple of *Daphne* from all Impurities, as he and his God accounted them, by removal of *Babylus* his Body, whether at the Intercession of the Martyr's Soul, as some conceive, or otherwise, the Temple was better purified by Fire, which the Christians of those times affirmed was sent from Heaven, and consumed the Roof and the Idol to Ashes. *Julian*, though by Tortures he could not get any more out of the Priest, than that it was consumed by that means, yet took this occasion to slander the Christians, *Ammianus* also, amongst other opinions (which we have formerly mentioned) delivering this as one, that it was fired by their procurement, yet did certain Country-men affirm, that they saw a Thunder-bolt fall from the Air upon the Temple. However the Burning of it was much bewailed by all the Pagans, and *Libanius* a Sophist of *Antioch* composed some mourning and ridiculous Ditties. *Julian* more concerned than any, to divert the Joy of those he thought would triumph over the Ruines, bent his Wits how to plague the *Antiochians*, by desiling their Fountains, and mixing things sacrificed with their Victuals, which he practiced at *Constantinople* with more success, for there the Citizens abstained from them, but the Inhabitants of *Antioch* followed the Apostles Rule, asking no Questions for Conscience sake, which the more nettled the Emperor. Certain it is from all Hands, that *Julian* both ill treated, and was ill treated by the *Antiochians*. He wrote a twitting Libel against them, called *Mitrologos* and *Antiochica*, because the Christians of *Antioch* jeared him for his Beard, to which they made as sawey returns, being a little (which we cannot but take notice of) removed from that ducial demeanour of the ancient Professors even to their Pagan and Persecuting Princes. Such force hath Prosperity over the Tempered Constitutions of the very best.

Leze Chryso.
Orat. cont.
Gentes.

Phil. 97.7.

L. 5. c. 18. 19. &
quite Theodoret.
L. 2. c. 1. 12.
Socr. l. 3. c. 19.
Ruffinus.

The remarkable death of several Apostates.

The Temple of Apollo burnt.

The Antiochian Libel Julian.

It is much concerned for the Temple of Apollo at Daphne.

Τὸ χ. ἐδὲν
ἠδίκησε τὸ πρῶ-
τον ὑδὲ τὸ Κ.
Soz. l. 5. c. 19.
Theod. l. 34. 17.
alii.

His Cruelties

He lays heavy
Taxes upon
Christians.

89

His Fruitless attempt to rebuild the Temple at *Jerusalem*.

He forbids
the burying of
the dead by
day-light.

C. Th. l. 9.
tit. 19. l. 5.

Quis enim
dies est bene au-
spiciatur a fi-
nere, aut qui
modo ad deo-
templa veni-
tur?
Id eoq; quoniam
niam & dol-
in exequiis
cretum am-
& diem fuit
nil inter esse,
trum per nos-
am per dies
ferantur, lu-
rari conveni-
populi totius
aspectus, ut
lor esse in fu-
ribus, non Pe-
pa exequiarum
nec ostentat.

Burying
Churches w
introduced.

(2) Lib. 44. p. 245.
(b) c. de. SS.
Eccles 1. 2. c.
ul. c. th. 17.
Concil. Braccar.
36. 13. q. 2.
(c) nullus &
glossa Carolus
M. in th. lib. 1.
c. 15 9. Non
licet in Baptis
herio Corpora
Sepelire. Conc
Antifedor. can.
14.
D. c. nul-
lus.
(d) Theod. 1.
2. c. 14 & v. l. t.

Covetousness increased about the time of *Gregory the Great*, they began both for convenience of Ceremonies, and for Gain and Advantage, to bury in the Cities: Although the Canon Law forbids any thing to be Exacted for the Ground, yet is it the observation of *Hoplirian* to true, *viz.* that never was there found out a more profitable device, than the sale of Graves; that in some Remote Churches this Custom is become both burthenfome and scandalous; as in some Cities of * *Saxony* scarcely can a Grave be purchased for one hundred *Pounds*, and in other places which I need not mention, it shall cost a Man nigh as much to bury his Son, as in *Aegypt* of old time (if *Herodotus* tell true,) his whole Education would have amounted to, but to our purpose

He consults
the Oracles
about the suc-
cess of his *Per-
sian* expedition.

20. *Julian* e're he't forward for *Perſia*, ſent to *Dolpheus*, *Delus*, and *Dodona*,
to enquire of the Oracles concerning his ſucceſs, as *Craſus* of old had done, *Thund. i. c.*
and had ſuitable answers, if not ſo ambiguous, yet ſo deceitful. *Maximus* *18. Nazianz.*
the Philoſopher; whom he prized above all Men, as an Oracle, little lets *contra Julian*
Infallible than the other, promiſed him the fame, if not greater Matters, *ſign. adverſus*
of which he was ſo confident, as ſtudy ing only to be grateful, he revenged at his *Genes.*
return to offer up the Chriſtians as Sacrifices to his Gods, to deſtroy and root
out the whole Party, and place the Images of *Venus* in their Churches. Think-
ing verily, that according to the Pythagorall *Metamorphoſis*, *Alexander's* Soul
was paſſed into his Body, he rejected all Auxiliary ſupplies, offered from other
Princes, only to *Aſaces* King of *Armenia*, becauſe a Chriſtian, he wrote Letters
(deſcribed by *Sozomen*) full of contempt of *Conſtantius* his Predeceſſor, reproach
of *Aſaces*, and Blaſphemy againſt *Chriſt*, threatening, that in caſe he failed to
attend him with his Forces, the God whom he worſhipped, ſhould not be able
to defend him. In his expedition he ſate up late writing Commentaries in imi-
tation of *Julius Caſar*, and as *St. Hierome* tells us, he compoſed
ſeven Books againſt Chriſtian Religion, which were abundantly ſold by *Cyril*
of *Alexandria*. Being affrighted with ſome Prodiges, he is ſaid to have
ſent up a Woman to conſult her Entrails about his ſucceſs, and to have had a
familiar Devil, which upon occaſion, ſent him into the Weſt to bring him
intelligence, coming to the place where a certain Monk called *Publius* inhabi-
tated, was ſtopped there, notable to proceed any farther. His Gods indeed if ſo
they were permitted, did not ceaſe, by ill Omens, to lay his danger before him,
but nothing could deter him from proſecuting the means of his wretched end,
whilch ſome Heathens aſcribed to the Chriſtians, ſome Chriſtians to an Angel,
and others to the Enemy, but generally they agree in the uncertainty of the
Executioner, of that Divine Vengeance which took him away. *So let thine Enem-
ies periſh O Lord!*

21. *Theodore* writes, that having received the Wound, he filled his hand with Blood, and casting it up into the Air, cried out *vicifici Galilee. Nicoburnus*; that his words were *Saturate Nazarene*. It is reported also, that he complained much of his Gods, probably of *Marr*, which *Ammianus* confesseth; but he was so desirous to be reckoned into the Number, and enjoy that esteem amongst the Vulgar, which *Libanus* gave him in his Oration, of being reckoned amongst their Divinities, that the report goes, he would have cast himself into some River, and so on a sudden disappearing, as *Aeneas* of old, *Romulus*, and others; a report might have been plausibly spread by his Followers, that he was taken up into Heaven, but the design was discovered, and dashed by one of his Eunuchs. His Body brought back, was received every where with Scuffs and Derision. The Philosophers and Magicians, his bosome Friends and Councillors, were no better treated, and the Victory of the Crofs, or Christ Crucified, was all over owned and magnified. His Character is variously taken, according to the affection and Party of the Designers, of which elsewhere we have said enough, but much more in this Ecclesiastical account, the length thereof may be excused by the Importance of the Subject. Only at parting we may take a view of him, as he is described to us by *Solomon*, verily both as *Baronius*, and other judge, as they will seem an exact Epitome of what has been at large discoursed. *A naughty Person* (faith our Translation, but *Homo Apostata*, an Apostate *Baronius* reads it) *a wicked Man walketh with a froward Mouth, he winketh with his Eyes, he speaketh with his Feet, he teacheth with his Fingers; frowardness is in his Heart, he deviseth mischief continually, he soweth discord; therefore shall his Calamity come suddenly, suddenly shall he be broken without remedy.*

His Character.

machinator malum, & omni tempore Jurgia seminat, huic extemplo veniet perditio sua, & subito ^{pravo corde} *conteretur nec habebit ultra* ^{ultra} *ultra medicinam.*

22. Into the Throne of *Julian* was Elected *Jovian*, by universal consent, say Christian writers, though *Ammianus*, who is very partial in behalf of *Julian*, makes his Election difficult, and attributes those difficulties and hard conditions, with which he was constrained to purchase Peace, to his weakness, whereas all indifferent Persons must necessarily ascribe them to the temerity of his Predecessor. Being a Tribune, when *Julian* cashiered all Christians, he willingly quitted the Military Girdle; but for his Abilities he took him into Service again, and when he was now Elected, he refused the Purple, crying out he was a Christian, and would not command a Pagan Army, at which the Souldiers cried out that they also were Christians. According to this beginning he proceeded so far as his small time would permit, revoking what ever had been done by *Julian*, against Christian Religion, restoring all the Professors thereof to their ancient Privileges, and opening all ways for the banished Bishops to return to their own Sees. Amongst those most eminent, was great *Atbanasius*, against whom, as we formerly said, the *Arians* and *Pagans* Conspired, and moved *Julian* against him. *Julian* therefore lets him know, that being banished, he had not only returned to *Alexandria* which was lawful, but had possessed himself of his Church and Government without his Warrant, which he ought not to have done; but this was not the matter, there was another thing which galled the Emperour, and that was the Conversion of several Families, and amongst the rest some *Pagan* Priests to Christianity. *Julian* therefore is resolved to rid the World of him, which though at first it did not appear, yet *Atbanasius* expecting the worst, and no good to come from Apologies, resolved to quit *Alexandria*, and that in an open way, that his Friends might not fare worse for being thought to conceal him. The Conjurers and Magicians rejoiced exceedingly at his departure, confessing their Arts failed them when he was resident; but the good Christians lamented the departure of their Pastor, to whom he answered, he of good Courage my Brethren, it is but a small Cloud that will quickly pass over, and to he took Boat for the Wilderness.

23. He had not been long upon the Water, when the Governour understanding he was gone, took Boat with an Executioner to follow, and dispatc[h] him, being afraid to put him to death in *Alexandria*, the place where he was so exceedingly beloved. Of this he had timely notice from his Friends, upon which Mess[ag]e, those in the Boat desired him to Land, and make his escape into the Wildern[ess]; but toook a contrary course, resolving to turn back again, and thereby deceive him, from whom he could hardly fly; which being done, they presently met the Pursuers, who little suspecting who was there, demanded only if they saw *Athenasius*, they answered they saw him a little above upon the River, whereupon the Governour pursued with all the Sails and Oars he could make, and *Athenasius* escaped thither, where he hid himself, and lay secure all the while the storm continued. The *Alexandrians* afterward laboured to mediate in his behalf to *Julian*, who being resolved upon other courses now, besides those of meer Policy, returned nothing but Rebukes and Blaphemies to all Complaints, answering, that their Religion teacheth them to suffer patiently. But he being gone to his own place, the Cloud passed over, and the Skies clear, *Athenasius* returned the third time out of Banishment, being met with acclamations and other expressions of infinite joy by the Multitude.

24. Now all flock to adore the newly risen Sun, and, as the Custom is, all Sects and Factions labour to ingratiate themselves, and if they cannot make him wholly their own, yet render him favourable to their Party. The *Arians* stinked hard, but the *Semiarrians* or *Macedonians* got before them, meeting the Emperor hard, in his return from *Perfia*, to whom, when they complained of the *Acacians*, or rigid fort of *Arians*, the Emperor rejected them, saying, he was for Peace, and an Enemy to Contention. *Acacius* himself perceiving how Matters stood, and that the Empire was devolved upon a Person who encouraged *Athanasius*, and had sent to him to draw up a Creed or Form of Faith, which he assembling his Suffragan Bishops, did as he was enjoined, according to the *Niceene* Rule, was resolved not to make trial of that condition to which he had been the Author of bringing many Orthodox Bishops. Fearing Banishment or the displeasure of the Prince, who yet declared he would force none, he brought several of his Followers to *Antioch*, where joining with *Meletius*, they held a Council, and therein, as faith *Socrates*, acknowledged the Faith of one Substance, and ratified the

by Toleration granted to their Persecutors, and something altered in their Temples from the patience of their Prædecessors, would hardly hold off their Hands from executing their Indignation and Spleen against the Pagan Rites and Temples, and that within the Præfectship of *Rome*, holden at this time by *Symmachus*.

30. Hereupon grievous Complaints being made by *Pagans* to the Magistrates, they (it is very probable) appointed their Officials Apparitors or Serjants, to press Men to watch and guard the Temples, being very many, if not most of them both now, and long time after of that Religion, such as this *Symmachus* himself was. Now they, though they had Officers enough of their own (for Cities especially) or had the Power of pressing sufficient numbers, yet out of Envy and Revenge, they would punish Christians by the Preservation of what they so desired to destroy, and forced them to this Employment, wherein their Eyes, Ears, Noises, and all their Senses could not but be contaminated, vexed, and provoked by their Sacrifices, Incense, Prayers, and other Rites, their Complaints making Melody to the *Pagans*, who thereby had opportunity to insult. How grievous to a Christian those abominable Rites were, *Valentinian* himself was very sensible, who having, when an Officer about the Perion of *Tullian*, waited on him to a Temple, was sprinkled by the Priest with their Holy Lustral Water, which he received with such Indignation, as he returned the affront with blows. Being sensible therefore of the Indignity hereby both intended and offered to Christian Religion, he forbade the thing by this severe Edict, at the Suit and Petition of *Liberius* Bishop of *Rome*, or some of that City where this intollerable Servitude was imposed. Therefore was this Constitution directed to *Symmachus* now Præfect there, as also that we have even now hinted against the Condemnation of Christians to the sport of Gladiators, which sport as yet could not be removed; but seeing the *Pagans* were so tenacious of it, he would not have them double their pleasure by such objects. But as all Christians were not free from Crimes, so did he not exempt them from all Punishments, but only such as were opprobrious to their Profession. They were therefore lyable to that of the Bakers, a Body of Malefactors serving the City in that Employment enforced also by another Rescript of this same Emperor, to the said *Symmachus*, which seems with those other two to have made one entire Constitution, in which we have longer insisted, to make out the State and Condition of the times.

31. *Valens* being to undertake the Expedition against *Procopius*, thought fit to be Baptized, and received that Sacrament from the hands of *Eusebius* the *Arian* Bishop of *Constantinople*, commended to him by his Wife, to whom he swore to defend that Hæresie to the utmost. Not long after he called a Synod at *Singidunum* a City of *Pannonia*, wherein it was accounted sufficient to assert the Sons Likeness to the Father. But the Legates sent into the West by the Council of *Lampascus*, maintained the Controversie against those *Arians*, finding no greater countenance than in *Illyricum*, where a Council being assembled by the Authority of *Valentinian*, that Legates should be sent back to the *Orientals*, both in the Emperours Name and theirs, to take notice of their former Message, to applaud their Faith and Courage to assert it, and promise them all constancy on their part, with all good Offices to be performed. This same Year died *Aeneas* Sirnamed *Lulus* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, the Antecessor of the *Arians* who chose to succeed him *Eusebius* another of that Profession, not the same with him, who in the time of *Constantine*, as we said, was ordained Bishop of *Antioch*.

32. The Year following, which was the Fourth of these Emperours, died *Liberius* Bishop of *Rome*, into whose See was *Damasus* elected, after it had been void six days. But he being of *Felix* his Party, though constituted Vicar by *Liberius*, great Diffentions arose, and the Dissenting Party made choice of *Ursicinus* a Deacon of that Church to succeed *Liberius*. Such a Schism and Tumult hence arose, that both Parties armed with Power as well as Animosity, betook themselves at length to their Weapons, to the great Scandal of Christian Religion, and Insultation of the *Pagans*, of whom *Ammianus* observes, that in one day were taken up out of one place, no fewer than One hundred thirty and seven dead Bodies, and *Vientius* Præfect of the City, not able to quiet them, was forced to withdraw into the Suburbs. But *Damasus* got the better of his Adversary, and *Ursicinus* was banished to *Naples*, where he ceased not to foment the

the Schism, and promote his own Interest, against that of *Liberius*. This same year the Emperours, by their Rescript dated May the Fifth, commanded all Goals to be delivered at Easter of all Malefactors, except Sacrilegious Persons, Traytors, Poysoners, Adulterers, such as committed Rapes or Murder; and forbade any one to be removed from Prison to the Theatre to be punished.

33. About this time dyed *Donatus*, made Bishop of *Carthage* by the Faction of the *Donatists*, of whom he was the head, and main Actor, into whose place they chose one *Parmenianus*, as earnest a zealot of the same Sect. He presently brandished his Quill against the Orthodox Party, and for that being challenged to a publick Disputation, refused to entertain such Commerce with the Bishops, as *unlearned Creatures*, whereas he esteemed himself and his Followers as the only pure, undefiled, and the Children of God. But *Optatus* Bishop of *Milevis* in *Numidia*, grappelled with him at his own Weapon, writing seven Books against him, wherein he chastised his Folly to purpose, yet treated his Person as a Brother; against that uncharitable and Hæretical opinion of his, that the Catholick Church was only in *Africk*, and that within the Communion of the *Donatists*, *Ticonius* an *African* also wrote, whom *Parmenianus*, having in vain exhorted by a Letter to revoke his opinion, did Excommunicate, as *St. Augustine* testifies in his Writings also against *Parmenianus*. During those stirrs in *Africk*, Italy was still disquieted by the Schisms in the Roman Church, though *Prætextatus* the Præfect of *Rome*, and an Heathen, used all means possible to compound the differences, amongst which was banishment of some of the Party of *Ursicinus*: The Emperour gave him order to prohibit all of that Faction, any ingress into the City, thinking this would be sufficient, but they still continuing resolute, and chusing rather to meet together privately, and in Conventicles, than to communicate with those that sided with *Damasus*; he commanded they should not be suffered to come within Twenty Miles of *Rome*.

34. This was much about the same time that *Valentinian* the Emperour, having dispatched the War against the *Allemaens*, came to *Milan*, where granting out a Rescript in behalf of *Auxentius* Bishop of that City, a notable *Arian*; the zeal of *Hilarius* Bishop of *Poitiers*, was much stirred up to undeceive the Prince as to his apprehensions of him, and therefore came and accused him of Blasphemy, whereupon a time was appointed for them to be heard, by two certain Commissioners, assisted by some Bishops. *Auxentius* so worded it in this Assembly, by condemning the Person of *Arianus*, and colouring his profession, that he went away with the credit, and *Hilary* was esteemed as an envious Person, a slanderer, and sower of discord, who dyed not long after, having given an account of the conference, in an Epistle directed to all Catholics, that they might shun the Communion of the said *Auxentius*. *Hilary* dyed at his own See at *Poitiers*, and became so famous for his writings, and adherings to the Orthodox Faith, that he hath obtained the Reputation of a Saint, having a Church in the upper part of the City consecrated to his memory, wherein they shew a Room appointed to the keeping of a certain Trunk of a Tree made hollow, they say by his Bile or Choler, called the Cradle of *St. Hilary*, into which they put Mad-men, and think that by virtue thereof they recover their Senses. Hereupon such as upbraid one another with madness, bid them to be gone to *St. Hilary's* Cradle, though they tell such like stories also at *St. Tuberly* another Town of *France*, in the Province of *Narbonne*. In the great Church also of *Poitiers*, dedicated to *St. Peter*, and founded by our *Henry* the Second, they show part of that Apostles Beard, which they say was brought thither from *Rome* by *St. Hilary*, at his return from a Council held there against the *Arians*.

35. The warning which *Hilary* had given concerning *Auxentius*, seems to have had this effect, that some Councils were called, wherein he, and others of his Complices, were condemned, yet he kept his Bishoprick till he resigned his life and it together. Much about the same time that *Hilary* dyed, *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia* left this life, into whose place was brought *Basil* with much ado, who, foreseeing what would follow, had withdrawn himself out of the way, but was elected notwithstanding, by the procurement especially of *Gregory Nazianzen*. His Brother *Gregory* was about the same time Ordained Bishop of *Nyssa*, a City of the same Country, who is gently blamed by *Nazianzen* for giving his mind to the study of Rhetorick, rather more than became a Christian Man. But they were scarcely warm in their Sees, when they forced to dilodge by *Valens*,

The Seditious
Donatists.

See Lib. c. 8.
Theod. l. 44.

Theod. l. 44. c. 11.
See Lib. c. 11.
Vide Jacob.
Cappellanus ad
A. D. 366.

Damasus

Vide quo
supra ex An-
niam.

Valens is
Baptized.

Liberius Bi-
shop of Rome
dies.

A Tumult
about the
Succession.

Hieron. de
Script. Eccl.

Ammian. l. 27.

de St. Hilary.

Vide Besseta.
Callig. p. 90.

Naz. in conc.
Basil & Ep. 21.

comfortable Letters written to those under Persecution. The Bishop of Rome, who by reason of his See, was first in order, and most concerned to flickle in their behalf, meddling little, or rather stifling those complaints, left by offending *Valens*, he should make him his Enemy, and cause him to Patronize the Plea, and pretence of *Persecution*, who having been banished into *Gall*, was now permitted to return into *Italy*, on condition that he came not within the *Suburbicarian* Countries; therefore might *Basilus*, as he did, write again and again, inasmuch that when some pressed for a fourth Message to be sent into the West, he dissuaded it, bidding them rest contented, and leave off their intreaties, for he was proud, and no good was to be expected. *Basil* had a large share of trouble, not only in respect of the *Arian* Persecution, but through misunderstandings of the Orthodox Party, being accused of several Errors, by reason of the obscurity or strangeness of some expressions about the three subsistencies of the blessed *Trinity*, which mistakes he cleared sufficiently by several Writings, and after his death, his great Friend and admirer *Gregory Nazianzen* wiped off such aspersions as lay upon his memory, who was also of the Party in some other troubles which he underwent.

41. This *Gregory* was the Son of *Gregory* Bishop of *Nazianzum* in *Cappadocia*, whence he had the Surname of *Nazianzen*, being born * after his Father was in Orders, and it seems, after he was made Bishop of that place, which was about the Year 325. From which, to the time we now write of, intervened Forty five. He had a younger Brother called *Cæsarius*, and a Sister, also younger than himself, by Name *Gorgonia*, of whom, he seems as also his Brother, being well seen in Learning already, went in his Youth to *Athens*, at this time the most flourishing University of the East, where he contracted a familiarity with *Basil*, and had occasion of making such observations upon *Julian*, who studied there also at the same time, as enabled him to give him that Character we have formerly mentioned; at *Athens* thence, he was afterwards invited to Court by *Julian*, who had taken especial notice of him; but detesting his Apostasy and Principles, he refused the Attendance, and drew off his Brother from the same Employment: Retiring to a solitary life with *Basil*, he composed two Orations against *Julian*, and being ere this ordained Priest, was afterward called home by his Father, to assist him in his Episcopal Function, in which Employment he continued, till *Basil* drew him very unwillingly into the Episcopal Rank. For *Cappadocia* being divided into *First* and *Second*, as *Basil* was Bishop of the former, his See being at *Cæsarea*, so *Anthimicus* was of the later, whose Seat was at *Tyana*, betwixt them happened great Controversies, about the extent of their Jurisdiction, which caused *Basil* to erect some other Bishopsricks within his Diocess, and amongst the rest one at *Safima*, over which with much ado he set *Gregory*. But this composed not the differences, so that he perceiving he should offend, both by the one and the other, *Anthimicus* being resolute and chollerick, he withdrew himself again to a solitary life, but this displeasing his Father, he obeyed his commands, returning to his assistance as long as the old Man lived.

42. But we must return to *Athanasius*, and take our last farewell of him, who having now finished his long and troublesome course, was to receive his Crown. *Valens* wearied with his own Persecutions, or rather understanding how the *Alexandrines* were affected towards their Bishop, for fear of Commotions suffered him to return in quiet to his See, and there spend his last days, which he knew could not be very many. This was two or three years which he spent not only in Affairs of his own Province, but of the Catholick Church also, assisting by his advice and Council his Fellow Bishops, and contending for the *Nicene* Faith; where there was occasion. His Master found him to doing after he had governed the Church of *Alexandria* Six and forty Years, and weathered out so many Storms of Persecution under *Constantine*, *Constantius*, *Julian*, and *Valens*, that for Labours and Suffering

Ep. 10.

Suffering next after the Apostles, he seemeth to discern the first place, and living in the Memory of Christians to all Posterity hath justly obtained the Surname of the Great. He was a Pillar, faith *Nazianzen*, holding forth the Mytery of Godliness against Spiritual Wickednesses in high places, meek and gentle, seldom angry, for which cause he was not unacceptable to his very Enemies, of a courageous Spirit, especially in danger; not ambitious, yet of excellent Parts both for Learning and Prudence. His Personage was comely, his Countenance Angelical, Affable and Courteous, yet Grave. His Speech was proper, concise and acute, his delivery pleasing. His Doctrine came to be accepted of by the Churches, and his Confession of Faith a Rule to theirs, even to this present day. Such was his Sagacity, that by Gods Blessing he miraculously escaped all such Plots, Devices, and Gins, as were laid for him, which made the *Arians* say he was a Conjuror, and so far much as in the Legend of St. George, we read that he was opposed by a Conjuror of this Name, we may conclude that they corrupted the true Story, changing *George* the Saint for *George* the *Arian* Ullurper, as they dealt with all other sorts of Histories. The death of *Athanasius* fell into the Ninth Year of *Valentinian*; of Rome the 1125. A. D. 372. Fl. *Modestus* and Fl. *Arintheus* being Consuls.

Who dies.

43. Into the See of *Alexandria* the Catholick Party elected *Peter*, an ancient Presbyter of that Church. But the *Arians* produce *Lucius*, whom formerly they had chosen to succeed *George*, and resolving now that they would not be defeated, they send, and give an account to *Valens*, both of *Athanasius* his death, and what had ensued, who fully complying with them, appoints *Euzoius* the Bishop of *Antioch*, being assisted by a great Officer (some name *Magnus* the Quæstor, others *Palladius* Præfect of the Province, and a *Pagan*), to see *Lucius* possessed of the Chair. Accordingly they either Imprison or drive away *Peter*, who perceiving no good was to be done, (some say he escaped out of Prison) got himself to Rome, and by his Epistles gave account to the World, of the most horrid Outrages committed by the *Arians*, by Killing, Imprisoning, and Banishing the Orthodox, no Sex, Age, nor Condition being spared. Therefore the *Arians* being few in number, yet backed by the Emperours Authority (who by an Edict commanded all such as hold the Clause of one Substance to be expelled) got Possession of all the Churches of *Alexandria*. Then were Religious Houses in the Desert spoiled and beaten down to the Ground, those who inhabited them making no resistance, and being slaughtered by the Soldiers in so Savage a manner, as cannot well be expressed.

44. So sad a change was made in the East, from St. *Athanasius* to *Lucius*. But in the second year after happened so happy a one in the West, as made a great Compensation to the Church; for her loss of so excellent a Pastor. *Auxentius* the *Arian* Bishop of *Milan*, whom St. *Hilary* had in vain laboured to remove, was now taken away by death, and great endeavours were used by both Parties for the choice of such a Man to succeed him, as might serve their Designs and Interests. *Valentinian* observing his rule not to meddle with Church Matters, had called to him the Bishops, and given them free Power to chuse whom they should think fit; but such a Tumult happened in the Church, in the heat of Contention, the People having a share in the Election, that *Ambrose* Governour of that Province, then in Town, fearing some great Inconvenience would follow, came to appease it. Having admonished them calmly to go to work about so serious a business, it came to pass that he himself was named to be Bishop, which he heard with much trouble, excused himself from the unfitness as well of his Person, as Abilities, being but a Catechumenist; whereas it was flat contrary to the Canon of the *Nicene* Council, for such to be ordained. When no excuses would serve him, the Multitude being violently inclined towards him, he withdrew himself; but the Matter being referred to the Emperour, he acknowledged a particular Providence in the case, and so far much as it was contrary to the Laws, for any in Publick Employments of the State, to be received into Orders, he most willingly granted a Dispensation.

Is succeeded by Lucius an Arian.

St. Hilary Bishop of Milan dies.

Apostasy to Arianism, p. 100. 7. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

St. c. 17.

Hieronymus Chron.

Vita Ambrosii Theodoret. Sec. alii.

C. Th. de Episc. & Clericis. l. 1.

45. *Ambrose* in the mean time having made his escape from those whom the People had set to watch him; but upon notice of the Emperours pleasure, was brought forth, and then apprehending it his duty to submit to so signal a Providence, was Baptized on the last day of *November*, and consecrated on the Seventh of *December* following, both which days fell upon the first *Feria*. Though this Election was against express Canons, yet was there much joy amongst all of the Orthodox Party, and Congratulatory Letters written too and fro. And so highly were the Citizens of *Milaine* pleased with it, that as *Socrates* tells us; being formerly at discord amongst themselves, they thenceforth imbraced Peace and Unity. *Valentinian* it is said acknowledged the goodness of God towards him, that he had such an Officer as was fit to be made a Bishop; but he lived not long to see the happy Fruit of this Election, dying the year following at *Bergatium*, as we have already described the manner of his death. His humour was not to interpose much in Matters of the Church, as to the Government thereof, saying, *It was not proper for him, being a Lay-Person*, and it is certain he did not meddle enough, suffering his Brother to act his pleasure against the Orthodox Party, of which yet he seemed to be a Member. But as he was unequally Yoked with his Brother in the Empire, so with an *Arian* Wife in his Bed, which unlucky Conjunction so overpowered him, as to intercept and hinder that influence which else he might have had into the Peace and Tranquillity of the Church. Though he meddled little himself with the Disciplining, yet as Emperor he joyed with his Brother in the enacting of several Constitutions, which being of an Ecclesiastical Nature, and so conducing to the knowledge of the State of such Affairs, we must add to those we have formerly mentioned.

46. The first of these sufficiently discovers how unwilling he was to meddle with Church Matters in the case of *Chromatius* a certain Bishop, who being condemned in a Synod of Seventy Bishops from them appealed to the Magistrature. For so doing by a Rescript in the Sixth Year of his Reign, he and his Colleagues impose upon him a pecuniary Mulct, and take care for preventing the like in time to come. But as he was earnest for maintaining Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, finding what ease it procured to his Government, so was he sensible of the forward Zeal of Christians, who according to the Nature of Mankind, which is ever prone to one of the Extremes, though they could never give enough to the Church, and that Women especially acted by that fervent Devotion which is commonly seen in first Reformation to overrun discretions, lay open to the covetous designs of certain Church-men.

His Laws.

For prevention hereof, in the Seventh year of his Reign, *Valentinian* and his Colleagues make the first Law of *Mormin*, directed to *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome*, whereby Ecclesiastical Persons, Clerks, or Monks, are inhibited to receive any Inheritances, Legacies, or other Gifts from Women. Both *Hierome* and *Ambrose* take especial notice of the Cause, rather than the Edict it self, falling very foul upon the great and sordid Avarice of many Priests and Monks of that time, who accounting Gain to be Godliness, devoured Widows Houses, and made a prey of filly Women laden with diverse Lutes. But this Law was afterward repealed, and others elsewhere of the same and larger nature, enacted according to consentment of times, and the inclination of such as were possessed of Supreme Power.

47. This same year by another Rescript, they take care for the Reformation and Improvement of the Schools at *Rome*, wherein they forbid any Youths to stay longer than the Twentieth year of their Age; out of a Sense of the viciousness of that City it seems, although the placing of Universities in Capital Towns, contributes much to the breeding of Youth, by acquainting it more with the World; and Men, and prevents that Rusticity, to which Solitary and Monastical places are more subject. But the Year following several Constitutions were made, which shows the Temper of *Valentinian* very indulgent to *Pagans*, and indeed would make us jealous, that his suffering the Orthodox to be Persecuted, and his not meddling with Matters of the Church, proceeded from a great indifferency as to all Religion,

* C. 25.

C. Th. 1. 20.
apud.C. Th. 1. 20. de
Episc. & Cler.C. Th. 1. 20. de
Hier. Rom. 1.C. Th. 1. 1. de
Hier. Rom. 1.

gion, and unwilling to trouble himself with things of that nature. For whereas Christians could not be Stage-players, but upon their Baptism changed that course of Life, he signified his Pleasure to be, that those *Scenici* being publick Slaves, destined to the common Theatre, should not be Baptized before the point of Death. By another he conferred upon Priests of the *Gentiles*, the Honour that was wont to be given to *Exemites*. But what was of most Consequence, by another Constitution they permit to *Pagans* the use of the *Arsuspina*, provided it were executed without Magic, and give therewith liberty to every Man to profess what Religion he pleased. These things vehemently inculcate a suspicion of his lukewarmness, or (which is fully as probable) declare to us the Constitution of the times, to have been such as inclined him to slacken the Reins of his Government; *Paganism* being yet so common and prevalent as to make such a Party for strength and Interest, as the Scepter was not in any fair Capacity to crush it.

C. Th. 1. 7. de
decur.C. Th. 1. 9. de
molest. tit. 16.

§ 9.

48. For this reason in Charity we may believe, he suffered the Altar of *Victory* still to remain in the Capitol, and thereto the *Pagan* Senators to pay their Devotions, for we cannot well imagine he could be ignorant of such a practice: And permitted the *Ethnicks* so far to abuse his Indulgence, as not only to use the old, but erect new Altars for fresh Sacrifices, as it appears they did by several Inscriptions. The Year following being the Ninth of his Reign, he makes a sharp Law against the *Manichees*, prohibiting their Meetings, firing their Teachers, and confiscating the Houses where they held their Conventicles; whilst his Brother *Valens* employs himself in furnishing Libraries at *Constantinople*. In that following, by another Law he restrains the Practice of Rebaptizing, used so much by the *Donatists* in *Africa*. And although leave was given to *Pagans* to sin against the Law of Faith, yet not against that of Nature; if as Christians the Emperours would not restrain them, yet as Princes and as Men. Therefore whereas they assumed the Ancient Barbarous Power of Life and Death over their Children, thinking it a small matter to kill their Infants by a Constitution in the Eleventh of *Valentinian*, that unnatural Custom is taken away. As for that Law mentioned by *Socrates*, whereby out of love to *Justina*, he should give liberty to all Persons to Marry two lawful Wives, it may justly be suspected of falsehood. For by Heathen Writers he is said to have been very Chast, that *Justina* which *Socrates* would have a Virgin, had been Wife, as appears from *Zozimus*, to *Magnentius* the Tyrant, and Married to *Valentinian* after the Death of *Severa*. It was a thing so contrary to Christianity, that Heathens themselves disapproved it. Neither do the Historians of those times make mention of such a Passage. Only *Socrates* who lived long after, and such as received it on trust from him. For *Valentinian* it may be said that he was a Christian Emperour, and had been a Confessor before he reached that Dignity. On the other side it may be believed, that through his connivance at his Brothers Actions, the *Pagans* had far better quarter during his Reign, than had the Orthodox Christians themselves.

C. Th. 1. 3. de
heret.C. Th. 1. 14. de
Pudic. lib. tit. 9. § 2.C. Th. 1. 9. tit. 14.
§ 1.

49. At the same time as *Valentinian* died, his Brother *Valerius* then at *Antioch*, with greater violence Persecuted the Orthodox Party, till *Thimothius* the Philosopher took off the edge of his hatred by shewing him that there were greater and many more Difficulties amongst *Pagans*, in reference to Religion, than amongst Christians about Matters of Faith. Yet did he but divert the Storm upon the Monks of this time, upon whom he looked as Fugitives from the Commonwealth, and such as cast off those Obligations which nature and their Country had laid upon them, to betake themselves to a course of Idleness. Having formerly laid such Barriers upon their Idleness, as *Constantine* and *Constantius* had taken from off their Shoulders, by another Rescript he now commands them to be pulled by the Ears out of their Monasteries, and fitted in the Army; or upon refusal to be knocked in the Head; whereupon great Outrages were committed upon this sort of People about this time, and they received Letters full of comfort from several eminent Ecclesiasticks of this Age, who were generally affected to the Monastical Life. At the same time *Gratian*

See 1. 6. cap.
deur. Episc. 2.C. Th. 1. 6. de
decur.C. Th. 1. 7. c. 31.
Hier. in
Cleric.

titan

tion in the West ran a contrary course, who succeeding to his Fathers Principles, as to Religion, yet, out of a fence it seemeth of his remissions in point of Discipline, and too great Indulgence towards the *Arians*, the Year after his death, forbids their Assemblies under the notion of Hæretical Conventicles, and confiscates the places of their Meetings. The same Year also the Three Emperours, *Gratian*, *Valentinian*, and *Valens*, joyn in a Constitution for the regulating of Ecclesiastical Causes, ordaining that the lesser sorts of Faults should be heard and determined in Diocesan Synods, but greater Crimes by higher Powers. In the mean while *Paganism* rather recovered strength than otherwise, the *Gentiles* erecting many Monuments of their Superstition, as to the *Mother of the Gods*, the *Great Gods*, (*Dii Magni*) and at this (the Daughter of *Gnaeus*, which gave name to the Country of *Attica*) the Emperours conniving at this Practice, as not able to resist that Impiety, which had been fostered to such a degree of vivacity by *Julian*, as was to be dulled and abated by time, before the Scepter could give it its fatal stroke.

50. But *Valens*, being at length taught some Moderation by Afflictions, having received a great overthrow from his Enemies, which was seconded with dreadful Pestilence and Famine, began to be more favourable to the Orthodox Bishops, recalling them out of Banishment, though he did not restore them to their Sees. Yet they at *Alexandria* took heart, and being encouraged by the Letters which *Peter* their Bishop brought from *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome*, they expelled *Lucius* from the Bishoprick, who got him in all haste to *Constantinople*, and confirmed *Peter* in his Seat, wherein he sat but a short time, for he died not long after, and left his Brother *Timothy* to succeed him. This same Year the Emperours, by a Constitution, exempt all Clerks from Personal Employments. And *Gratian* by another Rescript, restrains the *Donatists* in *Africa* from their common practice of Rebaptizing, as also the Assemblies of the *Manichees*, amongst whom was *Augustine* a young Man of the Age of Three and twenty, of which number the odd Three he had spent as an Auditor and Novice in their Discipline. He was born, as he himself writes, at *Tagaste* a Town of *Numidia*, in the Nineteenth year of *Constantius*, and the Consulship of *Arbeto* and *Lollianus*, on the Thirtieth of *November*. His Mother *Monica* being left a Widow about the Seventeenth year of his Age, a most Religious Matron, was much afflicted for him, seeing him run such a course of Heresie and looseness. And not only by her importunate Prayers and Tears laboured for his Conversion; but dealt with such as the thought most able to convince him of his Folly, to reason him out of the *Manichean* Errors, and urged thereunto a certain Orthodox Bishop, especially, who thinking it not reasonable as yet to encounter him whilst young, hot, and newly entered into that course, he abounded so much in his own fence, the still followed him, weeping and bewailing her Sons condition. With which when the good Man was wearied, and could not put her off, he bad her, *Go her ways, for it could not be, that a Son of those Tears could persevere*; as we shall see it came to pass.

51. But such is the condition of this present life, that as one comes upon the Stage of the World to act his part, another passeth off, having done his duty, which was the lot of *Basil*, the great Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, who dyed on the first day of *January*, and of the following Year: A Man of such esteem in his life time, that what ever he did was accounted a sufficient and warrantable Pattern, and even such passages as in another would have been accounted defects, as proceeding from him, were taken for no other than perfections; when dead, so precious was the memory of him, that through the great crowd at his Funeral, whilst Multitudes flocked to pay him their last respects, many were pressed to death. His Abstinence and Austerity of life, were such, that he only fed upon Bread and Salt, and drank nothing but pure Water; contented himself with one Coat and Gown, and made the ground his Bed; he was of tall and upright Stature, dry and lean in his Body, blackish wannish Complexion, had a large Nose, a round Forehead, wrinkles in his Face,

long Vizaged, had hollow Temples, wore a great Beard, was something gray, and looked thoughtfully; he is said to have prescribed Rules of living to Monks, Clerks, and Lay-Persons: Yet this *Astetic* ascribed to him, are not to be found amongst the rest of his Works, in the Catalogue of *Nazianzen*. And *Eustathius* who Intituted the Monastical life in *Armenia*, hath been by some esteemed the Author of them; the Rule also going under his Name, is justly suspected, forasmuch as there is no mention of it in *Nazianzen*; and there is another said also to be his, which contains only Thirty five Chapters. In the midst of his Book concerning the Holy Ghost, *Erasmus* thinks some things inserted which are no wife like his. His Epistle to *Cæsarea Patricia* is also suspected. And the Book written of his life, under the Name of *Amphilochius* is by all Parties accounted spurious, being full of Fables and things repugnant to other good Histories, and therefore unworthy of credit in the opinion of *Baronius* himself.

52. A Month after the death of *Basil*, dyed also *Ephrem* the Deacon at *Edessa*, on the first day of *February*, a Man of extraordinary Sanctity, whose Vertues are much set forth by *Gregory Nyssen*, in an Anniversary Oration. And this year was the last also of *Valens* the Emperour, whom as we may say, the *Goths* burning a live after a defeat in Battel, thereby revenged upon his Body the injury he had done to their Souls, by securing them from the Orthodox Faith to the *Arian* Heresie. His death brought a new life and resurrection of the ancient Heat and Vigor into the Eastern Churches; which *Gratian* by a seasonable Law for Retitution of all banished Persons to their proper Places, so cherished, that the Catholicic Doctrine began speedily to flourish again. Yet so powerful was the *Arian* Faction, that he thought it unseasonable to apply any sudden remedy to that Sore, and therefore he gave liberty of conscience to all excepting the *Euxomians*, *Photinians* and *Manichees*, the groffer sort of Heretics. But that the Catholics might not be overpowered by Faction or Interest, and receive the full benefit he intended them, *Theodoret* tells us, he sent into the East one *Sapores*, a Man of great note, who published an Edict at *Antioch*, and turned the Bishops encouraged by his presence, and the favour of *Gratian*, met together at *Antioch*, where consulting how they might best improve the opportunity God had given them for the resurrection of the true Faith, and prosperity of the Churches, they first composed differences betwixt *Meletius* and *Paulinus*, both Bishops of that Church, ordaining, that the Survivor should be immediately seized of the Bishoprick upon the others decease, without any farther Election, to which award they bound by oath Six of the Principal Presbyters of the Church, who seemed most fit to stand as Competitors at the next Vacancy of the See.

Some Heretics revived.

53. Hereby was removed much matter of Scandal, for the case of those two Persons had occasioned great Tumults and Seditions. The Friends of *Meletius*, as *Socrates* writes, would have joyned them together in the Episcopal Function; but *Paulinus* objected it was against the Canons, for any Ordained *Arian* Bishops to execute that Office, and when he would not consent, the People endeavoured to effect it by force, making preparations for his Intallment in a certain Church within the Suburbs. This being done, all the City was in an uproar, and great diffentions continued amongst the People, till this means of reconciliation was found out, wherewith the Multitude was fully quieted, only the Favourers of *Lucifer*, who had Ordained *Paulinus*, were offended with this Manner of dealing, and took hence occasion (to make (saith *Socrates*) or rather) to continue Schism, pretending that *Meletius* being Ordained by *Arians*, could not possibly be admitted to the Government of that See. But the Bishops having thus removed this notorious Eye-sore, appointed certain eminent Bishops to visit other Churches of the East, and to *Constantinople* was *Gregory Nazianzen* sent, which of all others stood most need of an able Physician. Yet, as it happeneth

happeneh to those, who have to do with such distempered Persons, as account their Diseases health; his kindness was returned with opprobrious Language: And as *Licurgus* of old, when he acted the Physician of the State, they cast Stones at him, all which Indignities he bore with great pity and patience, continuing three years in this employment, wherein he made those five famous Orations, concerning *Theology*, which deservedly procured him the Syname of the *Divine*.

A discourse
about Hypo-
stasis.

54. At this time there was much ado made about the word *Hypostasis*, which some understanding in the same sense as *Substance*, condemned such as asserted three Hypostases in the Blessed Trinity, as those that hold three Gods; and on the contrary those, who took the word as it is used for *Subsistence* or *Personality*, it condemned such as rejected it, as guilty of the Hæresie of *Sabellius*. Of this sort it, seems was *Meletius*, who importuned *Hierome* to confute the *Hypostases*, but he refused to comply with him therein, and consulted *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome* by Letters. This Person whom the Church in all Ages since his time hath, and that deservedly so much esteemed, was born at *Stridon*, a Town of *Dalmatia*, where his Parents lived in good rank. In his Youth he travelled to *Rome* with *Bonifas* his Foster Brother, a young Man of a very great Fortune, where they became Auditors to *Donatus*, and performed their exercises in declaiming, and otherwise, according to the Custom. Here when he arrived at ripeness of Age, he was Baptized, and then leaving that course of life, which formerly had been none of the strictest, he betook himself to great severities and laboriousness in Study: Afterwards he travelled *Gall*, *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Thrace*, to improve himself in the Conversation of learned and Pious Men, and being much taken with the Lives and Rules of such as professed the monastical life in *Syria*, he was so allured by their example, that he chose the Desert of *Chalcis*, a Province lying betwixt the *Syrians* and *Saracens* for his abode. Here besides the constant practice of Scleragogy, he followed his book with great diligence, having got together in this place a good Library, through the assistance of *Evagrius*, one of his Associates, a very rich and noble Priest, afterwards Bishop of *Antioch*. But that which much Crucified the contentment he received from this course of life, was the jealousy and suspicion, which he being a West-Country Man, incurred with the Eastern Monks, and the contention which followed about the word *Hypostasis*.

55. Having been formerly, whilst at *Rome*, acquainted with *Damasus* the Bishop (with whom he continued as *Amanensis* for some time, till he was wearied with the viciousness of the place) he consulted him by Letters, and at length tired with the importunities of *Meletius* and his Party, against whom, he seemed to patronize *Paulinus*, he returned unto him in *Rome*, after he had spent six or seven Years in that solitary course of life. Some say he first went to hear *Gregory Nazianzen* at *Constantinople*, where he spent three Years, and saw *Jerusalem* before his return to *Rome*. *Nazianzen* at the same time was visited by another Person of great Fame, one *Maximus* of *Alexandria*, a Christian made of a Cynick Philosopher, who boasted himself born of Martyrs, and had got repute for being banished for his Faith, into the Desert of *Oasis*; coming loaded with Fame to *Constantinople*, he was kindly received by *Gregory*, who honoured him with an Oration, made in his Commendation, of which afterward he changed the Title as written in praise of *Hero* his Companion; but in short time his design was discovered, which was to creep into the See of *Constantinople*, for which he had the encouragement of *Peter* the *Alexandrian* Patriarch; although he had formerly pretended to favour the cause of *Gregory*, who was very much desired by the People. Seven Bishops by him set on, when *Gregory* lay sick in the Suburbs, using the help of some *Alexandrian*

In Ep.
thron. in
alibi.

Vide Bar-
nium ad An.
D. 378-379.

Vide Nic.
contra Mar-
tum & in
carm. de vita
sua ut supra
Edit. novell.

andrian Marriners, whom they had hired for their purpose, privily in the Night endeavoured to thrust him into the Episcopal See; but the Alarm being given, they were beaten out of the Church by the Multitude; yet nothing hereat dismayed, afterward they cut off his Hair, which he wore now after the Cynick fashion, (for neither he, nor *Hero*, though they were Christians abandoned their former Habit, and Deportment, as *Nazianzen* reports of them) and Ordained him Bishop, in the house of a Player, which practice being abhorred by all, as well *Arians*, as others, he was driven out of the City: Betaking himself to *Theodosius*, from whom he received no encouragement, and being rejected also by *Peter* of *Alexandria*, he thereupon fell into discontent, and the Hæresie of *Apollinarius*.

Theodosius
made Empe-
rour.

Is baptized

And is kind
to the Church

56. This same Year which was the Fifteenth of *Gratian*, and the Fourth of *Valentinian* the Second, was very auspicious to the Church, in the promotion of *Theodosius* to the Empire, who mended much what had been marred by *Valens*. *Socrates* writes, that falling into a very dangerous Disease at *Thessalonica* (in the Second year) he was very desirous of Baptism, for of old he was trained up in Christian Religion, and added himself wholly to the Faith of one *Substance*. Having sent for *Acholus* the Bishop of the place, he demanded of him, of what Faith he was, to which *Acholus* answered, that the opinion of *Arius* prevailed not throughout *Illyrium*, neither was the new-found invention of his pestilent Brain planted in the Churches of that Country, but that all Christians throughout those Coasts retained that ancient Faith, which had been delivered by the Apostles, and continued by the Council of *Nice*; which the Emperor hearing, willingly received that Sacrament at his hands: A few days after being somewhat recovered, he went towards *Constantinople*, the Twenty fourth of *November*, in his first Consulship, and the Fifth of *Gratian*, where in the following Month he restored to the Catholics those Churches which for forty years had been unjustly detained by the *Arians*, who in vain fretted at so great both disgrace and loss, especially of the great Church, which by force they were ready to maintain, till overpowered by a Band of Souldiers, sent by the Emperor. Thus by deeds he confirmed what he had formerly professed to the World, having at *Thessalonica* published a Law, wherein Prohibiting and condemning all Hæresies, he commanded all his Subjects to embrace that Faith which had by St. *Peter* the Apostle been commended to the *Romans*, and which at present *Damasus* the Bishop of that See, and *Peter* of *Alexandria* (both whom he knew as, their Predecessors for the most part to have been Orthodox in their opinions) owned and embraced. At the same time and place, by another Rescript, he discontenanced all Violators, and breakers of Divine Law. And forbids by another, any Criminal Inquisitions to be made in Lent, of quest. This same year also those Emperours reinforcing the former Christian Custom, forbid such as were baptized, to be drawn back to the Service of the Stage.

L. 5. c. 6.

Ses. L. 7. c. 5.
Marcel.
Chrom.

C. Th. l. 2. de
Cathol.

C. Th. l. 25.
de Episc. & cler.

C. Th. l. 4.
de quest.

C. Th. l. 15
de fœnitis & c.

57. The following year was fully as propitious to the Orthodox, where-in the Emperours prosecuting their Patronage already undertaken by another Law, commanded, that in all places their Churches be restored to them, prohibiting the *Arians*, *Phorinians*, *Eunomians*, with other Hæreticks, to hold any Assemblies within the Towns. But *Theodosius*, who was the prime Author and procurer of those Laws, that he might not seem to carry on all things by force, and the terror of Imperial Authority, knowing how the *Arians* were addicted to Councils, and sufficiently understanding the interest and universality the Catholic Faith at this time obtained throughout the World, and not doubting of the good effects of a Council, which should be indifferent and free, and not clogged with the late force, and partiality of the *Arians*, he resolved to subdue them by their own Weapons. The Hæresie of the *Macedonians* who denied the Divinity

of the *Holy Ghost*, he especially intended to eradicate by this Council, having never had any such effectual proper Remedy as yet applied, perfwading himself that they were not of such obstinate and refractory principles as the *Arians*. And whereas the promotion of *Gregory Nazianzen* was much stomached by some sorts of Persons, upon the account of *Maximus*, *Demophilus*, and for other private respects, he resolved by this Council, which he summoned to *Constantinople*, to provide for the filling of that See. Accordingly he summoned the Bishops to Meet, though *Damafus* Bishop of *Rome* was against the holding of this Council.

Summons a
general Coun-
cil to *Constanti-*
nople.

* Represent-
ed by *Damasus*
Barnabas ad
A.D. 313. *anon.*

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

From the Second Oecumenical Council summoned by Theodosius the First to Constantinople, to the Third called by Theodosius the Second to the City of Ephesus.

The space of Fifty Years.

1. THE Second Oecumenical Council, summoned by Theodosius the Emperour to the City of Constantinople, met together in the Month of May, the Fifteenth year of Gratian, the Sixth of Valentinian the Second, the Third of Theodosius, Emperours, of old Rome the 1134. of New Rome the One and Fiftieth, the Seven and fiftieth after the Assembling of the *Nicene Synod*, the First of the Two hundred and ninetieth Olympiad, the Ninth Indiction, the Four hundred and nineteenth of the *Aera Hispanica*, A. D. 381. Fl. *Siagrius* and Fl. *Annius Eucharis* being Consuls.

2. Of those which imbraced the *Nicene Creed*, here met *Timothy* Bishop of *Alexandria*, who had succeeded *Peter* his Brother, after he had possessed that Chair Eight years, (however *Socrates* saith, he continued but a short time,) *Cyril* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, who now after his Recantation addicted himself to the Faith of *One Substance*; *Meletius* who had been called hither a while before to the Entailment of *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Acholius* Bishop of *Thessalonica*, *Gregory Nyssen*, with others, to the number of One hundred and fifty Bishops. Of the *Macedonian* Sect also assembled to the number of Six and thirty, whereof the greater part from the *Hellepont*, and those of most note were *Eleusius* Bishop of *Cyzicum*, and *Maxianus* of *Lampsacus*. It being a very necessary Ingredient to the Legality and Authority of a General Council to have it free, we cannot imagine that Theodosius shut the Doors against the *Arians*, such as had been fairly possessed of their Bishopricks, or that he summoned this Council of such Bishops only as were of his Faith, which *Socrates* seemeth to affirm. But a good riddance had been made of the *Arians* out of the Churches, by those Laws enacted for Restitution of the Catholics to their proper Sees, and the Custom of Titular and Supernumerary Bishops, (who cannot challenge such Interest in Church Matters) their thrusting into Synods to give voices not yet being received; their Party was inconsiderable, (if they adventured to be present, who were only valiant when backed with Authority,) and therefore no notice is taken of it.

3. In this Council, at the beginning whereof *Gregory Nazianzen* presided, were framed Seven Canons, "The First of which confirms the Faith of the Three hundred and eighteen Fathers, who assembled at *Nice* in *Bitlynia*, to anathematize all Heresie, especially of the *Enomians*, *Arians*, *Macedonians*, *Photinians*, and *Apollinarians*. The Second prohibits Bishops to meddle with Matters which lye out of their Diocesses, and thereby confound Churches, which formerly had been regulated and bounded. Accordingly they ordain that the Bishops of *Alexandria* govern only the Churches in *Egypt*. The Oriental Bishops those of the East alone, reserving the Honour of Primacy to the Church of *Antioch*, according to the Rules of the *Nicene Synod*. And the Bishops of the Diocesis of *Asia* they charge to concern themselves only therein, as also those of *Pontus* and *Thrace* in the Diocesses thereto belonging. The Third prohibits Bishops, without Invitation,

Arians as
well as others
admitted to
this General
Council:

Seven Ca-
non now made

See L. c. 8. l. 1.

By a. Epiphanius
qui extra dia-
cesim quem Can.
Caracina mu-
rilar.

to move out of their Dioceſſes either for Ordination, or any other di-
poſition of Eccleſiaſtical buſineſs, in obſervance of the Rule concerning every
Dioceſs before recited; for it is manifeſt that in every Province the Provin-
cial Synod ought to order, and ſettle all things according to what was de-
ſigned in that of *Nice*. The fourth declares the Churches of that kind which
are ſettled in Barbarous Nations to be ordered and governed according to the
Cuſtom of the Fathers. The Fifth declares the Biſhop of the City of *Con-
ſtantinople* ought to have the Honour of Primacy next after the *Rome* Bi-
ſhop, and thereof renders this reaſon, becauſe it is *New Rome*, even the
ſame which procured to the other the Primacy of Order, *viz.* becauſe he was
Biſhop of the Old, or *Mother Rome*. The Sixth determines concerning *Maxi-
mus* the *Cyriack*, and his inordinate Ordination made at *Conſtantinople*, that
he neither be taken for a Biſhop, neither ſuch for *Clerks* as had been ordained
by him in any degree, all things appearing null which had been done by
him. The Seventh Canon contains a Confeſſion of Faith agreeable to
that of the *Nicene* Council, which having not ſpoken fully concerning
the Divinity of the Holy Ghoſt, the Fathers now add, *And in the Holy
Ghoſt, the Lord and Giver of Life, proceeding from the Father, together
with the Father, and the Son, to be worſhipped and glorified, who ſpoke by the
Prophets.*

4. Not only were the Heresies against the Divinity of the Son and Holy Ghost condemned, but such as had been the Authors of them, wherein the *Semiarrians*, though they had been summoned by the Emperour, refused to joyn, who together with the Bishops of his opinion, used all means possible to persuade *Eusebius* and the rest of the *Macedonians* to reconcile themselves to the Catholick Church. They put them in mind of the Message which *Eustathius* and others in their names carried to *Liberius* Bishop of *Rome*, and the rest of the Western Prelates, that not long before they had communicated without exception in all Churches with such as professed the Faith of *One Substance*, and they pressed them with what they had formerly owned and decreed, protesting that this their averſion was neither Godly, nor Christian, seeing they had formerly ratified the ſelf ſame opinion and Faith with them. But neither admonition nor reprehension would prevail, they ſaying flatly, *That rather than they would ſubſcribe to the Faith of One Substance, they would joyn with the Arians*, and having made this answer, they left *Conſtantinople*, and ſent Letters abroad into all Churches, that they should not in any wiſe conſent to the Faith of the *Nicene* Council.

5. Though the business of the Council was finished, yet certain accidents happened, which held the Fathers still together. It happened that *Meletius* Bishop of *Antioch* died, whom *Gregory Nysien* came named to a Funeral Oration. Now according to former agreement *Paulinus* was to stand possessed of the See as the Survivor; but certain Factious Persons named *Flavianus* a Priest of *Antioch* to succeed him; which was received, and enforced by the younger sort of Bishops, hot, and accommodating themselves to the times, and the course of Preference, who urged that it was not to be endured, that a Person ordained by a Western Prelate (such *Lucifer* was) should be Bishop of *Antioch*, and strenuously asserting the worth of the Eastern Church before that of the West, in that *Christ* himself had honoured the East with his Nativity. *Gregory Nazianzen* endeavoured to compose the Tumults hereupon raised, by propounding that *Paulinus* might be suffered to enjoy the Chair for that little time he was to live, and then the Orientals might maintain their right in the Election of his Successor. But hereby he incited those of the contrary Faction against himself, as favouring the Occidental Bishops in the Cause of *Paulinus*. Whereupon he began to settle in that Resolution he had e're this taken up, of quitting the See of *Constantinople*, and in much displeasure departed from the Synod. He being withdrawn, they chose *Flavianus* Successor to *Meletius*, by which means the former Diffensions and Tumults were continued, the Church of *Antioch* being again divided, though one and the same People was subject to two Bishops, who both of them seemed to hold in *Solidum*.

6. This

6. This displeased *Timothy Bishop of Alexandria* also, who, whilst those things were in hand, came to *Constantinople* with some of his Suffragans, and certain Bishops of *Macedonia*. He declared also against the Confirmation of *Gregory* in the See of *Constantinople*, as done by *Melchius of Antioch*, whereas he challenged that right, as belonging to the Chair of *Alexandria*, which had preceded next that of *Rome* before the meeting of this Council. Herewith *Gregory* was so nettled, that now he perfected his Resolution, and making several Orations to the Fathers, abdicated himself from that See, and having hereby obtained leave of *Theodosius* the Emperor, departed into his own Country with such disdain and stomach, that he took up another Resolution never to come more into such Assemblies, and though he was the year following urged with much importunity to return to *Constantinople*, where these same Bishops were again assembled, he flatly refused, as having never seen, as he said, any good to come by Synods. After the departure of him, and such as were addicted to him, at the procurement of *Diadorus Bishop of Tarsus in Cilicia*, was chosen *Nectarius* a Native of that City, a *Catechumenist* as yet, well stricken in years, a Courtier, therefore however well skilled in Secular business, yet little acquainted with the concerns of the Episcopal Function, which to reach him, he kept with him one *Cyriacus a Cilician Bishop*, as *Sozomen* writes, who tells us, that the Bishops having written down the names of those they thought fit for the place, he was from amongst them chosen by the Emperor. *Socrates* faith, he was of noble Linage, whose Ancestors had been Senators, that he was a Man of unblameable Life, Pious Conversation, and though he was by Office a Prætor, yet the People made choice of him for their Bishop, and by the approbation of One hundred and fifty Prælates he was enstalled Bishop of *Constantinople*.

7. The Council yet depending, *Theodosius* the Emperour on the Nineteenth day of *July* published an Edict, "whereby he forbade *Arians, Eunomians,* & such like Hereticks to build Churches, either in, or without Cities, which, "since they were outed of their Possessions unjustly got, they had attempted "to do. By another he also inveighs against *Manichees, Eucratites, Apotacticks,* and *Hydropastes,* other Hereticks, making them infamous, and "uncapable of making Testaments, as he did *Apollates* about the beginning "of the Synod. But that we may come to the conclusion of the Council, *Socrates* summing up what was done therein, tells us in short, that then it was decreed, that the Bishop of *Constantinople* should have precedence next after the Bishop of *Rome*, the reason being, because that City was called *New Rome*. Again, saith he, they ratifie the Faith of the *Nicene Council*, they divide Provinces, and ordain Patriarchs, they decree that no Bishop shall leave his own Diocess, and intermeddle with Foreign Churches, for unto that time, by reason of the great storm and heat of Persecution: it was at every ones choice and liberty. *Nectarius* Bishop of *Constantinople* had that great City, together with all *Thrace*, allotted to his Jurisdiction; the Patriarchship of *Pontus* was assigned to *Heladius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, after *Basil*. Unto *Gregory*, Brother of *Basil*, fell *Nysa*, a City also of *Cappadocia*; unto *Oreusius* the Bishoprick of *Meletine* in *Armenia*. *Amphilochius* Bishop of *Iconium*, and *Optimus* of *Antioch* in *Psidia*, had the Patriarchship of *Asha*. The Province of *Egypt* fell to *Timothy* Bishop of *Alexandria*. *Pelagius* Bishop of *Laodicea*, and *Diodorus* of *Tarusus*, are appointed over the Eastern Diocesses, reserving the Prerogative of Honour to the Church of *Antioch*, the which then preiently they granted unto *Meletius*. They decreed moreover, that if necessity did so require, a Provincial Synod should determine Provincial Affairs. The Emperour gave his Assent to all aforesaid, and so the Council was dissolved. Thus *Socrates*, whose words concerning the division of Diocesses, are to be understood according to those Rules we have formerly laid down.

8. This Council which had begun in *May*, thus concluded about the end of July following, on the Thirtieth day whereof *Theodosius* the Emperor published a severe Law against the *Macedonians*, as well as others, being then condemned Hereticks. "Herein he commands that forthwith all Churches should

*Cod. Theod. l. 3
de Cathol*

“he

"be given to those who held the one and equal Majesty of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and were of the same Faith with Nectarius, Timothy, Gregory, and other Bishops in that Synod, and whoever dissent in Faith from them, should all be expelled as manifest Hereticks, never to be readmitted. In which Law, seeing the Macedonians are called manifest Hereticks, that is, such as are convicted and condemned by a General Council, it is not to be doubted, that at the promulgating of this Law, both the Emperor and Catholic Church hold that Decree of the Second Council, as a Learned Man observes against the Macedonians, to be the Judgment of an Holy, Lawful, and approved Oecumenical Synod, such as was the most ample Conviction of an Heretick, and manifestation of an Heresie. Now this Edict was published before Damasus Bishop of Rome either approved this Council, or so much as knew what was done in it, the first news what was done herein not coming to him till after the Synod of Aquileia, (as both Sigonius and Baronius himself affirms) which was held on the Fifth of September, a Month after this at Constantinople was ended. Seeing then it is certain that this General Council was ended, and the Decrees thereof not only approved, but put in execution by the Church, not only before the Pope of Rome confirmed it, but before he knew what was done and Decreed therein, it is a Demonstration that a General Council, or a Decree thereof, may be, and de facto hath been judged by the Church, both of them to be of full and Synodical Authority, and approved by the Church, when the Pope had confirmed and approved neither of both.

9. Nay, neither Damasus, nor any of his Successors, till Gregory's time, approved this Council, as this Bishop witnesseth, who writes in one of his Epistles, That The Canons of the Constantinopolitan Council condemn the Eudoxians, but who that Eudoxius was, they do not declare; and the Roman Church hitherto neither hath, nor receive those Canons, or the Acts of that Synod, but herein it accepteth it, in that which was defined against the Macedonians by it, and it rejecteth these Heresies, which being therein mentioned, were already condemned by other Fathers. Hence it appears that the Romans did not approve the condemning of the Macedonians, because it had been Decreed in this Council, for then they should have approved the Canon against the Eudoxians, and all the rest of the Canons, seeing there was the same Authority in Decreeing them all; but the reason why they approved that against the Macedonians was, because Pope Damasus had in a Roman Synod, wherein Peter Bishop of Alexandria was present, diverse Years before this Council of Constantinople condemned that Heresie, and what Heresies were by former Fathers condemned, those, and nothing else did the Roman Church approve in this Council. Untill the Age wherein Gregory lived they did not receive this Council, for the word *Eudæus* which he useth, must refer to that, not to the time of his Writing this Epistle, which was in the Fifteenth Indiction, for in the Ninth Indiction, or Six Years before, he himself professeth to embrace this Second Council, as one of the Four Evangelists, which also to have been the Judgment of that Church he witnesseth in the Eleventh Indiction. And as the Council it self was rejected by them of Rome, so especially that Canon which gives Patriarchal Dignity to the See of Constantinople, and to the Bishop thereof precedence before these Patriarchs of Alexandria, and Antioch, and Authority over the Churches in Asia Minor, Thracia, and Pontus.

10. How great aversion the Church of Rome had to the meaning and design of this Canon, and how far it was from approving it, appears from several Epistles of Pope Leo, especially that to Anatolius, wherein he rejects it, as contrary to the Nicene Decrees, which he there denieth (erroneously sure) to be immutable, as if one General Council could not undo, what another had done in things circumstantial and indifferent. The Legates of this Leo in the

* Dr. Gratian.
theory of the
first General
Council, c. 18.
p. 5-19.

the Council of Chalcedon, according to their Instructions, protested that the Canons of this Council were not accounted for Synodal, and by command of the Apostolick See, as they said, earnestly opposed this especially, against which also Damasus, as Turrian the Jesuite observes, had in a Roman Synod formerly made a Decree. And others of them say it was not allowed of till the Council of Lateran under Innocent the Third, which was six hundred years after the death of Gregory. Yet all this while was this Canon (which some make the Third, others the Fifth, as Gratian hath it), approved by the Church, and Authority ascribed to it, as of a General Council. By warrant hereof Anatolius in the Council of Chalcedon and Eutychius in the Fifth Synod, in the right of their See of Constantinople, took place of the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, none in those Countries repining thereat, nay God himself, as there is said, approving that precedence. And whereas this order had not been observed in the Ephesine Latrocinie, Flavianus Bishop of Constantinople being placed after those of Antioch and Jerusalem, the Fathers in the Council of Chalcedon stormed hereat, demanding why Flavianus did not fit in his proper Seat? which was next to the Roman Bishop or his Legates.

11. By Authority of the same Canon, Chrysostome, when Bishop of Constantinople, deposed Fifteen Bishops in Asia, ordained others in their rooms, celebrated a Council at Ephesus, and to it called the Asian Prelates, about Twenty Years after the making of this Canon, which had they not counted authentick, they would not, by obeying him, have broken the other laudable orders of the Church. The Judgment of the whole Council of Chalcedon, and consequently of the whole Catholic Church of that Age was, that this Canon was to be received and approved. They both knew there was such a Canon, and that Custom and Practice did concur with it; whereupon the glorious Judges, after full discussing of this cause (when the truth of this Canon had been diligently examined) testified and sentenced, that the Bishop of Constantinople had rightful Authority to ordain Metropolitan Bishops in the Dioceses of Thrace, Asia, and Pontus, and the whole Synod consented to them, first proclaiming, This is a just Sentence, This we all say, and then in the very Synodical Epistle to Leo testifying the same, viz. that they had confirmed that Custom to the Bishop of Constantinople, that he should ordain Metropolitans in Thrace, Asia, and Pontus, and thereby had confirmed the Third Canon of the Second Council. And this they did, though the Legates following their Instructions received from Leo, were so averse, that they said not without some choller, Let our contradiction cleave to these Acts. Justinian the Emperor, One hundred and sixty Years after, confirms this Canon amongst the rest, commanding it to be written in the Difficks or Ecclesiastical Books, and publicly to be read in the Churches, in token of public and universal approbation of the same. The Emperor doubted not of obedience to be performed, as well by those of Rome as others, and they were silent, none contradicting or speaking against this Canon, till after his time, being loath to exasperate him. Yet did they not approve it, as appears from what hath been said, although the General Council of Chalcedon, and the Catholic Church both approved, and established it. So little necessity was there for a particular Bishop to approve or confirm what had been Decreed by the Major part in a Council; although such as consented were said to confirm the Decrees; as a Synod held at the Hellespont faith of this Synod of Constantinople, that Timothy, with the other Bishops then present, confirmed it; calling the Consent and Subscription of the Bishops present thereat, a Confirmation of the Council. But to return to our business.

12. This same Year, by command of Gratian the Emperor, and at the earnest desire of Palladius and Secundianus two Arian Bishops, a Council was held at Aquileia, whereat were present Two and thirty Bishops, and amongst the rest Ambrose of Milan, and Philastrius of Brixia, two Legates from the African Church, and Three from the Gallican. Herein the said Palladius and Secundianus, though they appealed to a General Council, and to the Secular Powers, were with their Heresie condemned, and all the work finished in one Action, from One a Clock till Seven. And in this same year (if Baronius guesses it rightly)

The Bishop of
Constantinople
next to Rome.

A General
Synod may
make Canons
without Con-
firmation of
any particular
Bishop or of the
Pope.

Gratian calls
a Synod at
Aquileia.

Ab. 16. p. 136.
c. 137.

Lik. de Synodi
6, 7, 8. p. 65.
Theodosius supra
de Sacerdot. de
Epistola
Marcellina.
A. 321.5.

Vide Dr.
Constantinopol.
qua supra.

Council Chalcedon.
Ab. 11. in fine.
Ab. 16. p. 136.

Post. ad 16.
Ref. ad Leon.

Ab. p. 137.

Novel.

Vide p. 138.
inter Epist. post
Council Chalcedon.

Tom. 1. Cui

rightly fruitful in Synods, was another Synod held at *Casur-Augusta* or *Saragossa* in Spain, on the Fourth of October, against *Priscillianus* the Arch-Heretic and his Disciples. This Man, as *Severus* writes, being a *Spaniard* born, wealthy, and of very good parts, but given much to vain Glory, and above measure to Magical Arts, had been infected with the Heresie of the *Gnosticks*, which one *Mark* an *Aegyptian* brought first into France, and afterward into Spain; being once poysoned himself, he used fuch Arts and Industries as Infill the Venom into the minds of many others, of all sorts of Sexes, some Bishops being also drawn in, as *Salvianus* and *Instantius*. Here at the Churches being startled, after some private opposition made by certain Bishops, a Council was got together, wherein the Parties not daring to appear, were condemned absent, yet had they so much resolution and courage as to Ordain *Priscillianus* Bishop of *Avila* in Spain (the See long after of *Tostatus* that voluminous Writer) and though the Orthodox procured a Rescript from *Gratian* the Emperour to banish them Spain, as condemned Persons, yet used they such Industry, that having in vain sought assistance and incouragement from the Bishops of *Rome* and *Milan*, at length, they corrupted *Macedonius* the *Magister Officiorum*, and by his means obtained the former order to be reversed, their Sees restored, and their Persecutors banished in their rooms.

13. These *Priscillianists* held an hodge podge of all Heresies together, raked out of the filth of the *Gnosticks*, *Manichees*, and others. They taught Lying to be no sin, and lawful to Swear and Forfeare, rather than reveal any thing to their disadvantage; they hold with *Origen*, that Souls sinned before they came into Bodies. With the *Gnosticks* and *Manichees*, they made two Gods, one Good and the other Evil. They taught with *Bardesanes*, that every Man had his fatal Star, and that our Bodies are compounded according to the operation of the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac. They confounded the Persons of the blessed Trinity, with *Sabellius*; they declaimed against Wedlock, separating married Persons, and with *Tatianus* and the *Eucratists* cried out against the eating of Flesh, as an unclean thing, and made by the Evil God, or malignant Angels. It was their Doctrine and Practice to fast on the Lords day, and on *Christmas* day, because they held that *Christ* did not take true humane Flesh, against their fasting on the Lords Day, the Synod Decreed and Anathematized all such as fasted on that day, whether in reference to any time, misperwasion or Superstition.

14. To fast on the Lords day, it was ever accounted an abominable thing, in *Ignatius* his Epistle to the *Philippians*, he is called a killer of *Christ*, who fasts on the Lords day, and on the Sabbath or Saturday. *Tertullian* faith expressly, that they counted it wickedness to fast on the Lords day, nay even the *Montanists* themselves, though otherwise frequent in their Fasts, and excessive in their Scleragogy, yet excepted this day out of their Austerities. But the *Manichees* toward the end of the Third Age, out of their Singularity, changed the Custom, and fasted on this day. Of whom *St. Ambrose* faith, that they could not do it, because they justly condemned them for such a Practice; which *Augustine* also at this same time witnesseth to have been a great scandal. *Eustathius*, as *Socrates* calleth him, or *Eutathus*, as *Baronius* will have him, renewed the practice of the *Manichees*, which was presently condemned by a Provincial Synod, held at *Gangra* in *Paphlagonia*, which Decreed, that if any upon pretence of abstinence fasted on the Lords day, he should be *Anathema*. Now whereas the Synod of *Saragossa* condemns fasting on the Lords day, in reference unto times; this seems to have reference to the time of *Lent* it self, wherein it was accounted unlawful to fast on this day, as is clear from many Testimonies of Fathers and Synods. Therefore whereas from the first Sunday in *Lent*, unto *Easter* day, intervene just Forty two days, the Church of this Number fasteth only Thirty six, and to make it up Forty, according to the example of our Saviour; the four days between *Shrove Tuesday*, and the first Sunday in *Lent*, are added, as long ago * *Rupertus* (who lived at the beginning of the Twelfth Century) observed. But thus much of the Heresies of *Priscillianus* and his Followers, who the better

better to maintain their Singular and Heretical Tenets, besides the Scriptures received other Apocryphal Writings.

15. This same year the Emperours, taking notice how much Paganism through the encouragement of *Julian*, and connivance of *Valentinian* had increased, forbid their Sacrifices and Meetings. But this Law stood but as Probation till the year following, being then abrogated in part by another, which gives them leave to meet, yet so as they wholly should abstain from Sacrifice. The truth is, they found their Zeal too strong for the Interest, Peace and Security of the Empire, wherein Paganism had yet such a Party, that most of the Senators were of that persuasion, and about this time the Consul and his Wife both *Ethnicks*. Another Law they made against the Clandestine Conventicles of the *Manichees*. And they published also an Edict for the restraining and punishing Lusty Sturdy Beggars, which as some have observed, had been much increased since the times of Christianity: For the ancient Christians endeavoured nothing more than the manumission of Slaves, upon which account, out of desire of Liberty, many of that condition became Profelytes. Out of the Histories of *Africk*, we are told that *Paulinus* Bishop of *Nola* held all that he had, and at length himself to the *Pandals*, therewith to get Money to redeem Christian Captives. Hence came Manumissions to be made in Churches by the Bishops, and that on the Lords day, and after the time of *Constantine*, especially the number of poor and Indigent Persons, having nothing they could call their own but liberty, increased to such vast Multitudes, that no greater grievance lay upon Cities, than such Confluence of beggerly Persons, having no Trade nor course to live.

16. Hereupon at the earnest desire of the Bishops, Hospitals and Alms-houses for the sustenance of Strangers, Infants, Aged, Sick and Lame, unknown to former times, began to be erected by Princes or others. *St. Basil* complaining in his Sermons, that the sighs and lamentations of such as languished in the Churches, were confounded and mingled with the Prayers of Priests and People. *Julian* the Apostate, as we have already said, perceiving this was a very taking and plausible means to procure respect to Religion, resolved to Erect also such Hospitals, and to this piece of Policy excited his Pagan Priests. And for as much as those indigent Liberty or *Freemen*, did commonly expose their Children, as knowing that upon the Christian Principles and profession of kindness and mercy, they would be provided for, *Gratian* made a Law that they should remain in Servitude with those that educated them. Not long after *Valens* his Uncle permitted by an Edict, that Vagrants and Beggars should be reduced to Servitude, forbidding also upon pain of death, his Subjects to take themselves into desert places, there to lead an idle life, which he commanded should be inflicted upon many, who contrary to the Laws, had withdrawn, and lived in those times solitarily in the Wilderness; yet had not those Laws such effect, but that Beggars still increasing, and lusty Fellows able to work, chusing rather to live in idleness and penury, the Emperours re-inforced the former Edicts, by theirs of this Year, which was that following the Synod of *Constantinople*.

17. But although *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome* was against the summoning of that Council, yet this year immediately succeeding, he had a desire to have a General and Oecumenical Synod held at his own City, and for that purpose solicited the Emperours; they having consulted the Eastern Bishops, answered it was neither necessary nor convenient to have so many General Councils called in so short a time; for this would make them cheap and contemptable, as Synods had been in the *Arian* days, and by the Journeys, and long absence of Bishops, the several Flocks should be exposed both to want and danger. However *Damasus* and other Western Bishops, are said to have held a Synod at *Rome*, the acts whereof are lost, but amongst others, one Canon was made, as *Baronius* tells us, quite contrary to what had been determined in the Council of *Constantinople*, in favour of that See; giving the first place to the Patriarch of *Rome*.

The Pagan
fiddlers to
Sacrifice.

An Edict
against
Sturdy
Beggars.

Jura per
severum
pro
re
Aug. de heret
Hieron. in
clon.

Causa tempo
ris est per
mitti aut
prohiberi
can. 2.
Tom. 1. caus.

De divinis
co
jejunium
necesse esse
dual
man. de curam
m. c. 1.
Idem ad
nisi
Epistolam c. 15.

Ep. 36.
L. 2. c. 31.
lat. 2. c. 42.
Can. 1. 2. 3. 4.
1. caus.

Vide Ambro
de jejunio. 2. 10
Hier. ad Lucam.
Epistolam, 2. 20.
Hid. num. 22.
Clericis. 1. 2. 10.
11. in Gen. 2.
Syn. Agath. c.
12. April. 4. 22.
4. De divinis
officiis. 1. 4. c. 5.

A Synod held
at Rome.

C. Th. l. 7. de
Pagan.

C. Th. l. 8. de
Pagan.

Hieron. ad
Marcellum. 2. 20.
C. Th. l. 9. de
Hæretic.

Vide Basi
num. de republi
l. 1. c. 5.

C. de Episcopi
et clericis.
tit. 11.

C. l. 1. C. de
de infans. libe
ritas.

At A. D.
Rome, ex collecti
one Constantini

An other
Cesar-August
as wherein
Priscillianus
the Arch-Her
etic is con
demned.

The opinion
of this Sect.

Fasting on the
Lords day con
demned.

Rome; the Second to him of *Alexandria*, his See having in the name of St. Peter been consecrated by Mark his Disciple and Evangelist; and the Third to the Patriarch of *Antioch*, because St. Peter there resided before he came to *Rome*, and there the Faithful were first called Christians; a reason indeed sufficient to have given him Precedence above the other two, had not the Polity of the Church imitated that of the Empire, and the Bishop of *Rome* obtained precedence for the Dignity of that City, to which *Constantinople* now being Second, or *New Rome*, the Fathers had as much reason to alter the Case, and advance the See to the same place and Dignity.

Gratian
withdrew the
allowance for
Pagan Sacrifices
and Priests.

Which cau-
sed others with
Maximus the
Tyrant to mur-
der him.

18. The Year following was very fatal to Paganism, wherein *Gratian* the Emperor withdrew the former allowance for Sacrifices and Stipends allotted unto Priests, and so by taking away all encouragement, and removing the Fuel which his heretico maintained the flame, struck at the Root of that Superstition. For this cause (and not for having rejected the Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, which neither he nor any of his Christian Predecessors ever used) his Heathen Subjects might take part with *Maximus* the Tyrant by whose Treason he was this year murdered at *Lyons*; his Piety and worth is very much extolled by St. *Ambrose*, and *Asinius* his Schoolmaster, whom he dignified with the Honour and Employment of Consul, and otherwise very gratefully rewarded, having as *Baronius* observes, so much worth in him, as to understand and consider that Matters equally with Parents, can never be sufficiently required. This *Asinius Gallus* was a great Rhetorician, and an excellent Poet, as appears by what he hath written, and a Christian he shows himself by his Religious Poems, however his Amorous Verses have procured him, with some Readers, the repute of a Pagan; his pains were so well bestowed upon *Gratian*, that *Theodosius* wanting a Tutor for his young Son *Arcadius*, whom he had named *Augustus*, and assumed as his Partner in the Empire, desired of *Gratian* that he would send to him out of the West, a fit Person for so great a Trust. *Gratian* herewith acquainting *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome*, he commended to him *Arsenius* a Deacon of that Church, a Person very remarkable for Piety and Learning, who was sent accordingly to *Constantinople*, when he undertook his charge, *Theodosius* giving the Youth into his hands, said, Hence forth thou art more his Father than I. Coming upon them at a time into the School, he found *Arcadius* sitting, and *Arsenius* standing by, as he was teaching him, for which he chode the Master, as not maintaining the Authority and Decorum of his place, to whom, when *Arsenius* answered, that it was not fitting he should sit, and teach an Emperor, *Theodosius* out of disdain, took from his Son the Badge of his Imperial Dignity, caused *Arsenius* to sit down upon the Throne, and *Arcadius* to stand bareheaded before him, saying, Then his Son would be worthy of *Emperors*, if with knowledge, he were also induced with Piety.

In a Synod at
Constantinople
the Heretic of
the Sacophari
is condemned.

19. This year was another Synod summoned by *Theodosius*, to *Constantinople*, the Decrees of which, against the Heretics were followed and re-enforced by his Edict, wherein amongst others, mention is made of the Sacophari, who were the same with *Masilians*, and so called from wearing Sackcloth, against which Heretics, one or two Synods were also holden about this time. But whilst *Theodosius* thus advanced the Orthodox Faith in the East, Christian Religion itself was in a little danger in the West, where at this time a great Famine raged, especially in the City of *Rome*. *Symmachus* the year following being Prefect of the City, a Man exceedingly affected to Gentilism, but otherwise of good repute, and exceedingly eloquent, taking the advantage afforded him by the death of *Gratian*, and Power of *Maximus*, when he thought *Valentinian* the young Emperor, would be very unwilling to disoblige his People, presented him a Petition in the Name of the Senate, for restitution of the Worship of the Pagan Gods, put down by the late Laws of *Gratian*. According to the old Custom of Pagans, who if any disaster happened to the Commonwealth, laid the blame upon Christianity, and the neglect of the Gods; he imputed the late Famine to no other cause, than the taking away the maintenance of Priests, and Vestal Virgins; but the device was quickly smelt out by *Ambrose* of *Milan*, who writing to the Emperor and re-ell-

furis.

C. The II. &
12. de heret.

Christiani
ad Leonem.

Anst. ap. 10.

all the Arguments and Objections of *Symmachus*, prevailed so far as that an absolute denial was returned.

20. This Year, as *Baronius* gathereth from the Date of certain Rescripts, died *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome*, though *Marcellinus Comes* placeth his death Two years before, at the Month of *October*. *Damasus Portuensis* in his Book of Popes Lives, of Popes falsely ascribed to this Bishop, will have his Death to have happened on the Eleventh day of *December*, after he had sitten in that See Seventeen years and three Months wanting Four days. The See was vacant One and thirty days, and then succeeded him *Siricius* a Roman by Birth. About this time *Theodosius* taking into his consideration, that Jews made Slaves of Christians, and many of them thereby became Profelytes to their Impiety, forbids by an Edict that any Christians be in Servitude to them. And by another precribes *Arians*, *Macedonians*, *Eunomians*, and *Apollinarians*, formerly expelled, who still had the boldness to return and boast of their Doctrine. In the West *Priscillianus* still created trouble to the Orthodox Bishops, to obviate whose Heresies, at the importunate Suit of *Ithacius* a Bishop and great opposer of that Heretick, a Synod was held at *Bordeaux* in *Aquitaine*, by command of *Maximus* the Tyrant. So soon as *Maximus* had entered *Triers*, *Ithacius* puts up to him great Complaints against *Priscillian*, wherewith the Emperor (as *Severus* calls him) thoroughly moved, writes his Letters to the Praefect of *Gall*, and the Vicar of *Spain*, commanding that all Persons tainted with that Heresie, should be conveyed to the Synod at *Bordeaux*. Of these *Infantins* being brought to his defence, when he could say nothing considerable for himself, was pronounced unworthy of the Episcopal Function. *Priscillian* from the Bishops appealed to *Maximus*, and that by their permission (for which the Historian blames their Fatherhoods) and therefore to him go both the Criminals and their Accusers, of whom *Idacius* and *Ithacius* Bishops are much blamed for their too violent Prosecution, and the later as Audacious, Impudent, Talkative, Proluse, and given much to his Belly, whose custom it was to accuse them that were either Studious, or used Fasting and Scleragogy, as the Accusers and Disciples of *Priscillian*, and was so bold as to object the Crime of Heresie to *Martin* a Bishop of that time, and a Man to be compared with the Apostles themselves.

A Synod held
at Bordeaux.

Wherin *Priscillian*
and
others are con-
demned and
executed.

21. For *Martin* (Bishop of *Tours*) being now at *Triers*, continually urged *Ithacius* to desist from this Prosecution, and besought *Maximus* to abstain from the Blood of those Wretches, whom it sufficed to have Excommunicated by Sentence of the Bishops, being declared Heretics, alledging it was a new and unheard of Crime, for a Secular Judge to decide Causes of the Church. As long as *Martin* continued at *Triers*, the Tryal was deferred, and when he departed, he got from *Maximus* a Promise, that he would not take their Lives, but afterward the Tyrant was drawn to the contrary Perswasion by *Magnus* and *Rufius*, two Bishops, and committed the procedure to *Eudodius* a Man bitterly severe, who after two Hearings of *Priscillian*, wherein he was Convict, and confessed he had made Uncleanness his business, kept Meetings of lewd Women by Night, and accustomed to Pray naked, he pronounced him Guilty, and committed him to custody till the pleasure of the Prince was known. *Maximus* was clearly for condemning him to death, which after *Ithacius* saw resolved, and the matter brought beyond possibility of prevention, to decline the Odium he saw would fall upon him, withdrew out of the way. But for Form sake, to conclude the Process, *Maximus* appointed another Accuser to demand Sentence, which was accordingly pronounced, and executed upon *Priscillian*, *Felicissimus*, *Armenius*, *Latronianus*, and *Euchrecia* the Wife of *Dolphidius* the Rhetorician, whose Daughter *Procula*, had been got with Child by *Priscillian*. *Infantinus* the Bishop, and *Tiberianus*, were banished into the Island *Sylina* beyond *Brittaine*, and others were either put to death, or for a time confined to certain places in *Gall*.

22. Thus faith *Severus*, were those Men, who were indeed unworthy of Life, by the worst of Examples, either put to death or banished, this Tyrant *Maximus*, being the first that made *Heresie* Capital, contrary to the judgment not only of *Martin*, but *Ambrose*, *Augustine* and other Pious Men of this Age, *Augustine*, *Aug.* in *And*, as it usually happeneth in this case, the *Heresie* of *Priscillian* was not only not suppressed by his death, but more strengthened, and farther propagated. For his Followers, who formerly honoured him as a Saint, now revered him as a Martyr. The dead Bodies were conveyed back into *Spain*, and their Funerals celebrated with great Devotion. It became the greatest Point of Religion to swear by *Priscillian*, and amongst the Orthodox such Differences continued, and such abominable Diffentions, as could not be filled for Fifteen years. And then, when by reason of the disagreement of Bishops especially, all things seemed to be disturbed and confounded, every thing being carried either by hatred or Favour, Fear, Inconstancy, Envy, Faction, Lust, Avarice, Arrogance, Drownings, and Sloath; at last many contended madly, and pertinaciously against a few discreet and sober Persons. And in the mean while the People of God, and every good Man, became a by-word, and a mocking stock. With these words *Sulpicius Severus* concludes his Ecclesiastical History, concerning the Excellency whereof, *Joseph Scaliger* and *Gisselinus* especially, a Learned Physician, who published it with Annotations, are to be consulted. Though all good Men out of an aversion they have to Vice, and by reason we are only sensible of present things, are apt to esteem their own times the most vicious, yet his complaints confirm much to us the Character which *Erasmus* gives of this Age, that *It was a matter of Wit to be a Christian, that Faith was rather in their Papers, than their Souls, and there were almost as many Creeds, as Professors.*

Christianum. Illa arate in charis erat fides potius quam in anima, ac peni tae erant symbola quae profingebat. Pref. in Tom. 2. Hieronymi.

23. *Ithacius*, who had been the great Prosecutor against *Priscillian*, continuing at *Triers*, where several Bishops, who approved what he had done, and espoused his cause as common, were assembled, *Martin* the Bishop of *Tours* was in behalf of several who had, according to their Allegiance, taken the part of *Gratian*, constrained to go to Court. *Maximus* who protected the Bishops, by their advice had resolved to send some Officers into *Spain*, furnished with sufficient Power, to make Inquisition after Hereticks, and spoil them of their Lives and Estates, by which course there is no doubt but a very great number of Holy Men would have been destroyed, little distinction being made amongst the several forts, judgment being given from the eye alone, and one esteemed an Heretic rather for his pale Face or Garment, than his Faith. The Bishops knowing how little pleased *Martin* would be with these things, yet were very much concerned lest he should refuse their Communion, as foreseeing that his Example and Authority would easily procure him many Followers. Consulting therefore with *Maximus*, they think fit that certain Officers should be sent to meet him, with orders not to come to the City, except his purpose was in a peaceable manner to demean himself toward the Bishops there resident. He craftily overreareth them, professing that he came in the Peace of Christ, and entering the City by night, went to the Church to his Devotions, and the next day to the Court, to solicit the Tyrant in behalf of many Persons, of whom the chief were *Narjes* a Count, and *Leucadius* a Praefident, who both had been of *Gratian's* Party.

24. But being as well desirous to preserve the Hereticks, as such Orthodox Christians as would suffer with them, he made it his greatest business to prevent the dispatch of the Tribunes into *Spain* with so severe a Commission. *John Maximus* held him in suspense a day or two, either for that he would put weight upon the business, or by reason of his implacable disposition, or which was then generally guessed, out of Covetousness, to which Vice, although otherwise he was indued with many good qualities, as *Severus* reports, he was much addicted, except in his excuse it be alleged, that the Treasury had been exhausted by former Princes, and the great expence he was put to by

illi temporibus ingeniosa res fuit esse

Ad comitatum ire compellunt

Severus. Dial. 3. 5. 15.

by the Civil Wars, and perpetual Marches necessitated him to such courses as were burthenome to the People. But in the mean time those Bishops, with whom *Martin* refused to communicate, being sensible of the danger to which they should be exposed, in case the earnestness of *Theognistus*, who alone had publicly condemned them, should be backed by the Authority of *Martin*, come trembling to the Emperour, complaining that Masters thus standing, they were præcondemned and lost Men, that this Man ought not to have been received within the Walls, who was become not only a Protector of Hereticks, but their Avenger, and in truth that they had profited nothing by the death of *Priscillian*, if *Martin* might be suffered to revenge his Cause. In sum, they cast themselves at his Feet, and with many Tears, and great Lamentations, implore his Royal Authority and Power to be employed against this one Man, who in Conjunction with *Theognistus*, as they had good cause to apprehend, might procure the overthrow of their Cause and Fortunes.

25. Little wanted of *Martin* his being condemned to the same Lot with the Hereticks. But though *Maximus* too much favoured these Bishops, yet he had him in so great esteem and reverence for his Piety, that he resolved to try another course, and therefore talks with him in private very lovingly, and labours to persuade him that the *Priscillianists* had been condemned, rather by public Justice, than the Prosecution of the Clergy, and that there was no cause why he should shun the Communion of *Ithacius*, and the rest of his Party: That *Theognistus* had done it more out of Malice, than for any good reason, and was singular in this Separation; in conclusion, that *Ithacius* had been acquitted by a Synod, which had met a few days before. *Martin* being nothing moved with these fair words, *Maximus* was very angry, and starting away from him, gave orders that Executioners should be sent to dispatch those for whom he had interceded; which as soon as he understood, though in the night, he got back into the Court, and promised, that in case they might be spared, and the Journey of the Officers into *Spain* countermanded, he would communicate with *Ithacius*. All this was instantly granted by *Maximus*, and the day following *Martin*, who judged it fit for him to comply, that he might divert the Sword which hung over the Necks of those formerly condemned, communicated with these Prelates at the Consecration of *Felix* a most Holy Bishop, and one that deserved to have been ordained in better times in the opinion of *Severus*. But the Bishops having got *Martin* amongst them, with all earnestness imaginable pressed him to subscribe to what they had done, but could not wrest it from him; He departed the next day, and in his Journey as he much bewailed his communicating with those Men, though for so little a space, *Severus* tells us, that an Angel appeared to him, comforting and exciting him to re-assume his former Virtue and Constancy. From this time he never communicated with any of *Ithacius* his Faction, confessed afterwards with Tears, that by so doing, though but for a moment, yet he had lost some of his former Power over the *Evergumens*. And although he lived sixteen years longer, yet he never came at any Synod, but ever shunned the Meetings of Bishops. being of the same judgment herein with *Gregory Nazianzen*, and sensible of the great Corruptions of the times.

26. The year following being the 385. of our Lord, the Tenth of *Valentinian* the Second, in the first Consulship of *Fl. Arcadius* the Emperour, and *Fl. Bante*; the Year after the Birth of *Flonorius*, *Timotheus* Bishop of *Alexandria* departed this Life, and was succeeded by *Theophilus*. Concerning *Timotheus* this is memorable, that he ordained *Ammon* a most Holy Monk, though to prevent being a Bishop, he had cut off one of his Ears, alleging, that the Law which was objected to the contrary, had been observed by the Jews, and professing that if he found a Man that had lost his Nose, but retained his Piety, he should not at all stick to ordain him Bishop. This Year *Valentinian* the Emperour published an Edict for releasing Prisoners at *Egfer*, whereat *Ambrase* Bishop of *Milan* took occasion to upbraid him with Imprisoning Godly Men

Martin Bishop of Tours persecuted by the Heretical Bishops.

And forced to communicate with them.

Sedecim postea visitant, nullam Synodum adire, ab omnibus Episcoporum conveniuntur.

Socr. l. 5. c. 124.

C. Th. l. 8. de indulg. crim.

Men at the same time, wherein it was the Custom to set Malefactors at Liberty.

For the Year following he set forth another Edict, whereby he granted to the *Adrian* liberty to meet together, at the Intification and Procurement of *Johann* his Mother, a Woman so addicted to that Heresie, that she used all endeavours possible to promote it, and for that purpose endeavoured to take from the Catholics the great Church in *Milan*, and deliver it to them, which *Ambrose* opposing, she raised a great Persecution against him. *Theodosius* in the East, bent his endeavours against *Paganini*, which still seemed to revive, and recover strength, notwithstanding all the fatal strokes it had received,

In the same Year wherein *Valentinian* published his Edict about emptying the Goals, he gave out another *Rescript* against Idolaters, and such as consulted the Entrails of Beasts, for the knowledge of things to come Yet were these times still so bad, and the minds of his Subjects still so addicted to that Impiety, that the Temples, and a great part of the *Pagan Superstitions*, for all the new Laws, he threatened, did permit, and that the Emperor, being, himself, a Pagan, his Colleagues, *Valentinian*, *Maximus*, instead of differing, did but decide a Controversie about the Administration of the Heathenish Rites, in a Constitution directed to *Florentius* the *Præfectus Auguralis* to this purpose,

27. In obtaining *see* Archyrosfyna, or Chief Priest-hood, let him first be confedered, who has done most Service in his Country, provided he have not forsaken the Service of the Temples, by applying himself to Christian Religion. For it is unseemly, yea, to speak more truly, unlawful that Temples, and the Sacerdotes thereof should appertain to their Care, and the Consciences of whom have been wrought upon by a true Sense of Divine Religion, and whom it became, although they were not prohibited, by all means to [thus] such an employment. Given at Constantinople on the Sixteenth day of June, Honorius the most noble Child, at this time about a Year and three quarters old; and Evodius being Consul, viz. A. D. 386. The Eleventh of *Valentinian*, of Theodosius the Eighth, the Fourteenth Indiction, of Old Rome the 1120, of the New the 56.

28. This *Archiepiscopus* or *Chief Priesthood*, was not the *Prefidency* in the College of Priests, as some have imagined. But those that bore this Office, as we may learn from the Epistles of *Julian* in this Age, had it incumbent upon them to *oversee and order the Temples, appoint what was convenient to each, take care of their external Ornament, and government, and moderate the Priests therein ministering*. Such Chief Priests, in Greek *ἱερεῖς*, were of *Scythians* in *Asia*, whose Life is written by *Philostratus*, under *Julian* the Apostate, *Atacius*, in *Galatia*, *Theodorus* in *Asia*, (to whom he wrote two Epistles yet Extant, the 49. and 63.) and *Cyrenianthus* in *Lydia*, as *Eusepius* signifies in the Life of *Maximus*. Those *Scythians* were the *Pagan Temples* (as *Tertullian* stileth them, besides others) were the Celebrations of Publick and Religious Mirth, and Vow, Festival Assemblies, Games and Solemnizations of Antient Sports; to which adhered somewhat of *Genrilism*, and Superstition belonging to the Temples. Feasts and Banquets which were especially, universally and Religiously observed on *New-years-day*, as besides many more ancient, several Writers of this Age do testifie. Vows made on the Third of *January*, in the Temples, with Feasts and well-wishes for the Health of the Prince. Such also were the *Saturnalia*, the *Brumæ*, or, as the Canon of the Synod in *Trullo* hath it, he *Bromalia*, celebrate in Honour of *Bacchus*, Synnamed *Bromius*, and the Sacrifices of the *Lustræ*. These, and such like, were the *Pagan Solemnities*, to the observation and care of which, the *Genriles* endeavoured at this time to force the *Christians*, who also many of them of their own accord joyed in the Celebration of those Mysteries, whereof the *Christian Writers* of those times complain, and as *Tertullian* of old exhorted *Christians* to fly from such Impurities, so both Synods and Emperours by Canons and Laws endeavoured to obviate this their Scandalous and (in many respects) pernicious Practice.

In consequenda Archieroſyna ille ſic po-
rior, qui patriæ plura præſtitit, nec tamen
à Temporum cultu obſervatione Chriſti-
anitati abſceſſit. Quippe indecorum eſt,
imo, ut verius dicamus, illicitum, ædificum
curam Tempſ, & Temporum ſolemnia per-
tinere, quorum conſcientiam vera ratio
[vera ratio vel veneratio] divine Religi-
onis imbuat. Et qui ipſo decetate tale
munus, etiamſi non prohiberetur, eſſugere
emiſſa 16. Calend. Jul. Conſtantinop. Hono-
rio N. O. P. & Evodio Coſſ. I. E. A. D. 386.
Cod. Th. de decurion. l. 12.

Vide Jacob.
Gothofredum
ubi supra.

CHAP. V. *The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.*

29. For this *Arceyrefyna* or Superstitious employment being conferred on such as were Senators, and bore the greatest Offices in Cities, or had performed best service to their Prince and Country was much sought after, even by some Christians themselves, who studied more their reputation than the discharge of a good Conscience, easily being perwaded, that Prævarication and unlawful Communication in Heathenish Mysteries, would not stick to this Action, which only respected the Decency and order of Administration, and was void of Superstition in it self; however it had regard to the *Pagan* Temples, and the Solemnities thereof. Now by the Infeription or Direction of this Law, to the *Præfect of Egypt* (who as we formerly shewed, was called *Augustalis*) this vicious Custom, as we may learn, was most prevalent in that Country, which having of old, been more than any other addicted to Idolatry, was still more tenacious of it; as appears by a Law made the preceding Year, which notwithstanding yet the year following, *viz. A. D. 387.* So little Reformation was wrought, and former Constitutions to little obeyed, that to enforce them was sent *Cyriacus* the *Præfectus Prætorio* into *Egypt*, who prohibited Sacrifices, as *Zozimus* with great grief witnesseth, also *Idolatrias*. And notwithstanding all those endeavours, yet were not these Sacrifices wholly forborne, and laid aside, till the Year 391. through the endeavours of *Evagrius* the *Præfectus Augustalis*, and the Count of *Egypt*, at the earnest importunity and procurement of *Theophilus* the Bishop of *Alexandria*, as appears from *Eurapius*, in the life *Ædelfus*. *Zozimus*, our own Ecclesiastical Writers, and a Law Extant in the Code of *Theodosius*. Neither is it to be doubted, but that *Theophilus*, by whose mediation and endeavours, Sacrifices at length were prohibited and taken away, procured also that the Christians, within his Patriarchal care, should be forbidden to discharge any more this *Pagan* and scandalous Office, whereof we treat.

This Office of
chief Priest-
hood forbidd
to Christians.

30. For although they themselves defiled not their Persons and preſcription, by the Superſtitious Worſhip uſed in and about the Temples, and neither thoſe Solemnities full of groſs Idolatry and *Pagan* Impieties, yet as the Law expreſſeth it, it was unſeemly, or to ſpeak more truly, unlawful for Chriſtians to have charge of Temples and their Solemnities, who ought to ſhun ſuch an employment, though not thereto obliged by any prohibition. This becoming in thoſe times a ſale of Conſcience; the practice was condemned as unlawful by *Gratian*, as *Zozimus* the Hiſtorian witneſſeth, and *Terrullian* had long before ſo decided it, in ſeveral places of his Book concerning Idolatry, for this charge, though it could not be called Sacrificing, yet as he terms it, might juſtly have the name of *Adſcrificium*, which word being rightly adjudged, and reſtored to him by a learned Man, he might as well uſe as *Admittia* is uſed by the Lawyer. Had theſe Solemnities been harmleſs mirths, deſtined only to Recreation, no ſuch prohibition had been laid on Chriſtians, but the very end and deſign of them was *ſuperſtitious* and *Pagan*. As the Celebration of Games and votive Sports were in honour of their Gods obſerved, in memory of their Nativities, and Dedication of their Temples, as *Lactantius* writes, who thereupon concludes, that what a Chriſtian ſeever was preſent at the *ſpectacula*, or ſhews which were made for a Religious end, ſuch an one departed from the worſhip of the true God, and betook himſelf to the *Pagan* Deities, whoſe Nativities and Fetiſhals he ſo Celebrated. For the *Pagan* uſed to keep holy the *Eucania*, or days of the dedication of their Temples, and had their Feaſts and Banquets *Sympeſia* in honour of their Gods; whence alſo proceeded their Conſraternities.

Pagan Customs
den to Christian-
ism.

31. As Christians of themselves were too forward to undertake the charge of *Acheroyefina*, tempted with the reputation thereof, so at these Games and Feasts, they were still constrained by the Pagans; to be present, in other Countries besides *Egypt*, inasmuch that the African Fathers a little after, about the year 399, could not but take notice of it, and ordain that the Emperours should be censured, *that seeing in many places, they suffered the same kind of Idolatry as was practised at that time, which taking its Origin from Pagan Error, Christians were compelled by Ethnicks to celebrate, whereupon another Persecution seemed secretly to be made under Christian Emperours,* they would please to forbid such Customs, and cause

C. Th. de
Paganis l.9.

L. 4 p. 76.

Chron.

Pp 73-77

L. 5. p 79
1. 1. C. 1. Th.

de Paganis.

9

Ad c. 16
L. vaic. 2

de offic. Præ
præ. Admilitia
com. militum

Συμπλήρωμα
Φεατσίον.

In concil.
Catb. sub. H.

61. cod. Afr.

Ἐν τῇ ἐθνικῇ
πλάνῃς εἰσὶν
ἡμεῖς ἵσταται

Ἀρχὴ ἐστὶν
πάντα ἐστὶν αὐτῇ

Λιγνκῆς πλάιν

them to be prohibited in Cities and Countries, under a certain Penalty, alleging, that Christians ought not to be compelled to those things which are contrary to Gods command, and in doing which they should incur great and apparent danger of their Souls. By such like means as this, it came to pass, that whereas by permission of some Constitutions of Christian Princes, those votive Feasts and Solemnities had been observed through the parts of *Africa*, with this caution, that they should be Celebrated without any Sacrifice, or other damnable Superstition, as *Honorius* limits them (which Law is strangely retained in *Justinian's* Code) yet Nine years after they were utterly removed, taken away, and prohibited by the same Emperor in another Constitution, together with the other Reliques of *Pagan* Superstition, who makes it utterly unlawful to hold those Feasts, or any other Solemnities; giving unto Bishops Power and Authority to prohibit them, by the same Law which *Tribonianus*, though he retained the former, yet hath omitted in *Justinian's* Code.

Cod. th. de
Paganiis l. 17.

C. th. de Pa-
ganis l. 19.

32. So jealous were the Fathers of the Church, lest Christians should defile themselves with *Pagan* Impurities, and thereby give matter of scandal both to Infidels and Professors, that by their own Writings, Canons, and Imperial Constitutions by them procured, they laboured by all means to cause them to shun all appearance of evil in this respect. And for those reasons they were also sometimes so moved, as to condemn, forbid, and put down such Customs and Actions, as were taken from *Pagan* Precedents, though well intended and directed to a good end. So *Ambrose* Bishop of *Milan* at this time, perceiving how by the heedlessness of Church Officers, many *Pagan* Customs had crept in amongst the Christian Rites, both set himself with all his might to eradicate them, and with all expedition; therefore he not only declaims earnestly against such as superstitiously observed the Calends, or first day of *January*, procured, that on that day wherein the *Pagans* Feasted, Christians should fast and afflict themselves, and caused Acclamations and Shoutings which had wont to be made at the eclipse of the *Moon*, to be wholly left off, but abolished the *Agape* or Christian Feasts wont to be kept in Churches, because they had some resemblance to the *Pagan Parentalia*; by whose example *Augustine*, when Bishop of *Hippo*, was so moved, that he also procured them to be put down in the Church of *Africa*. Yet notwithstanding was it impossible to shake off suddenly all that might seem to have resemblance to *Pagan* Customs. For those habits stick close to Nature, wherewith this is first of all endowed; as an empty and hungry stomach, most embraces and sucks such Juices as are first poured into it, and the Vessel retains that favour which being yet fresh and new, it had first imbibed with the Liquor, so doth the mind of Man most delight itself with the memory of those things, places, and times, wherewith in its Infancy it was acquainted, and however education and more ripe judgment may inform the understanding, yet the fancy is still tickled, and the affections insensibly overpowered, by such apprehensions as were most familiar and cotaneous to their simple and naked Originals.

Aug. conf. 6.
de Ep. 4. c. 10.
Cath. l. 1. c. 10.

Item form. 30.

Several *Pagan*
Rites and
Ceremonies
nevertheless
used.

33. Hence it came to pass, that notwithstanding all those Laws, Canons, and Precepts, yet old Customs were still continued for a long time after, of such a Nature and Design, as could not but favour of *Pagan* Superstition, as worshipping of the *Sun*, with others which we may have occasion hereafter to mention. And the Fathers of the Church, especially the *Roman* Bishops were content to take off the Professors of Christian Religion from such practices, by not only permitting them to apply certain Customs to Christian ends and purposes, but to Infuse also and Ordain several Rites and Ceremonies which had some resemblance to Ancient though Ethnic patterns, as appears abundantly from what *Polydore*, *Virgil*, and others have written of their Originals. And if in their Natures they were indifferent, if honest in their Designs, effectual in their Methods, for removal of impious Customs, if every way innocent, and in the main conducing to make impressions in the minds of Men, and introduce such Ideas as would obliterate old prejudices, and establish Pious affections, they were so many arguments of Christian Prudence, which ought to moderate

rate

rate, and sway the Councils of those in Authority, according to time and place, the exigence of affairs, and the good or ill usage of such Customs and Institutions. *Julian* made use of such Christian Rites as he saw were prudent, and conducing in their very Nature and drift to order, settlement, and exergetical impressions, and why might not Christian Governours, as well as he, assume the quality of the Serpent, which is not inconsistent with the nature of the Dove? and having to do with such Persons as had been inured to such Customs, by a change of the design, and proposal of a new end, render them not only Innocent, but significative, and edifying, all Creatures being the possession of God, and the use of them as applicable to his Glory, as to vain and impious purposes.

34. But as there are no certain and particular Rules for individual actions, these things being left to the care and charge of Governours, who are only limited by decency and order, and confined within the borders of Edification; so accordingly were they affected, and steered the Helm as variously directed by Comportment of things, times, and Persons, in those primitive and more pure Ages of the Church; yet may we observe that the vulgar, as in all other cases, so in this, would be Master of Words, Phrases, and Terms. Therefore though *Pope Silvester*, as *Polydore Vergil* is of opinion, out of hatred both to the Names and Memory of the *Gentile* Gods, gave order that the days of the week should be called by the name of *Fertus*, and the distinction to be made by *Prima Feria*, *Secunda Feria*, *Tertia Feria*, &c. Yet so that the *Sabbath* and the *Lords-day* should hold their Jewish and Christian Names, and Places, as they did before; this became no certain Rule to Christians, Writers, or others. For though that day we still call *Saturday*, had amongst them the name of *Sabbath*, which was peculiar to it, and applicable to no other day whatsoever, for many Ages; and although that day on which our Saviour arose from the Dead, be by *St. John* called by the name of the *Lords-day*, by *St. Paul* the first day of the Week; yet *Justin Martyr* gives it the appellation of *Sunday*, which it still reserves, as also *Tertullian* by whom it is styled sometimes *Dies Solis*, and sometimes *Dominicus*, and in many Edicts of Christian Emperours, in the Synod held at *Dixiolesum*, in the lower *Bavaria*, A.D. 772. It hath also the name of *Sunday*, not to speak of Writers, and the ordinary speech of the Vulgar, with which this same name hath prevailed in all Ages downward. In like manner the Months have retained their ancient *Pagan* names, though at first given to them, as well as to the days of the Week in memory of their Fictitious Deities, the use of which, neither as to the one, nor other fort, did the Fathers forbid and condemn, although perhaps they could better have liked others; for if we keep the name of *March*, and yet think not on *Mars*, why may we not *saith a Father*, preserve the name of *Saturday*, without thinking of *Saturn*. So long hath this Custom of Speech continued, that the innocency of the present design, together with the ignorance of the Vulgar, as to its ancient signification, may justly remove all suspicion of the prophaneness, and consequently the unlawful use thereof. The *Holy Ghost* it self hath not disdained to apply unto sacred purposes, words of Art used by *Pagan* Writers, as *Paradysus*, *Elades*, *Apollolus* and *Clerus*.

De invent. l.
3. c. 6.

The days.

St. Basil. i.
supra.

And Months
called so by
them.

* Aug. contra
Jussu. l. 1. p. 5.

Cyril Bishop
of Jerusalem
dies.

John
foc-
ceeds him.

Philagrius
Bishop of Brix-
indies.

Hieron. de
script. Eccl.

Item ep. 61.

35. But to return to the series of Church matters, in this same year, which was the Eighth of *Theodosius*, dyed *Cyril* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, who had much experienced the vicissitude of humane affairs, and the condition which attends those that will live Godly in this present World, having been often driven from his See, and restored again, from the times of *Constantius*. There are extant certain Cathesims, which, as it's said, he made in his Youth, but are suspected. He was succeeded by *John*, who as *Hierome* writes, (inveighing against him, under the name of *Praxestatus*) had formerly joyned with the *Arians* and *Macedonians*, and now of late, had been drawn off to the Orthodox Party, by the hopes of a Bishoprick. This year was also the last of *Philagrius* Bishop of *Brixia*, who wrote against Heresies a good Book, wherein yet go under that name certain Tenets which this Age will easily excuse from error. *Augustine* by this time was reclaimed from his erroneous and loose course of life, having the preceding year, and the Thirty first of his Age, began at *Milan* to be touched with a sense of the Orthodox Faith, and reality of Christian Religion. For there wanting a Professor of

Aug. conf.
l. 1. c. 2. p. 5. 11.
c. 6. 11.

R

Rhetorice

Augustine
reformed from
his loose course
of life.

Rhetorick in that City, and Symmachus Praefect of Rome, being desir'd to send a Man fit for such an employment, by the assistance of his Friends the *Manichees*, he procur'd to be sent, being now Thirty years of Age, where falling into the Company and Familiarity of *Ambrose* the Bishop, by degrees he began to apprehend and dislike the errors of the *Manichees*; yet for the time, this change conduced so little to his proficiency in Christian Religion, that he did but make an alteration hereby to Antichristianism, being much inveigled by the Academick Philosophers, who at this time were in great esteem, and thereby hindered the progress of the Christian Doctrine. For they openly stuck not to affirm, that Christians had taken many Sentences out of *Plato*, and particularly St. *John* the *Evangelist* the Exordium of his Gospel, forasmuch as *Plato* talks much about the word or *Noyes*, but in so vast a different manner from that word, as it is sacred in Christianity, that such as are but meanly conversant in both, may easily discover the cheat, that it is in vain to instance in particulars; however this prejudice was in this Age whereof we write, none of the least remora's to the progress of Christianity, though some of later times have so cant'd in Platonick expressions, and doated upon his misapprehended Mysteries, as to conjoin them with the *Magnalia* of our Faith; and more mischief had been the effect hereof, had not *Ambrose* obviated the design, by his Books written concerning Philosophy, against *Plato* and those his Followers, wherewith *Augustine* when older and wiser, confessed himself much edified.

Ep. 84. de
distr. Chris.
c. 23. Barroli. 2. 4

36. *Monica* his Mother, following him to *Milan*, omitted no means the thought proper for his effectual Conversion, which was better and more easily accomplished, after the return of his Concubine into *Africa*, by whom he had a Son called *Adeodatus*. At the entrance of *Bauto* upon his Consulship, he made a Panygyric Oration, before *Valentinian* the Emperour, upon occasion whereof, afterward, he bewailed the state of his Soul, at that time, which with some impetuosity was carried out in the Prosecution of Carnal and Ambitious purposes, and wholly taken up in a disquisition of Academick questions, and Platonick Speculations. But at length, by the reading of St. *Paul*, and the fruitful conversation of *Simplicianus*, a Pious and Learned Priest, it pleased God, by degrees, to infill into his heart the knowledge and love of the truth, so that being as we said conversed in the thirty first year of his Age, after he had continued a *Catechumenus* for two years or more, he was baptized in his thirty fourth year at *Milan*, by *Ambrose* the Bishop of that City, in the Feast of *Easter*, together with *Adeodatus* his natural Son, a Youth of about Fifteen years of age, of extraordinary parts, who dyed not long after in *Africa*, and *Alipius* of *Hippo* his dear Friend; after which they departed for *Rome*, and there, expected till the year following, a convenient time for returning into their own Countries.

Crisostomus.

Vide pag. 10
ante Aug.

Is Baptized
at Milan by
Ambrose the
Bishop.

The several
Ranks and
Degrees of the
primitive Con-
verts.

As Audien-
tes.

37. We have often made mention of the *Catechumeni*, concerning whom, though the Reader, by the Circumstances of the Story, may apprehend sufficient for the knowledge of their condition in reference to Christianity, yet for his clearer insight into these Ecclesiastical affairs, it seems requisite to speak something more, both concerning those Persons, and other sorts, and ranks of Men, as they stood in relation to the Church. For there were several ranks and degrees, through which the ancient Christians thought fit that Converts should pass, for the information of their minds, and the subjecting of their Spirits to the holy Discipline, before they would admit them to the Sacrament of Baptism, the *Eucharist*, or Holy Orders. The first rank was of those, who were to learn the first Rudiments of Christianity, who were admitted to their Schools to hear the *Catechists* (such as *Origen* was in the Church of *Alexandria*, though not in Holy Orders, and but Ten years of Age) concerning whom *Eusebius* writes, that many Gentiles came to hear him Preach, and were converted, as *Plutarch* and *Heracles* his Brother, the first of whom suffered Martyrdom, and the other became afterward Bishop of *Alexandria*. Such as were bred up thus in Schools, were called *Educati*, and they and others being admitted to Homilies, Expofitions, and Instructions in the Church, were called *Audientes*, this being the first step in the Christian School, and it pleased God, by his Preaching and Instruction to convince such as came rather

Euseb. l. 6. c. 1.

Catechumeni.

Competentes.

rather for Novelty many times, than love to the truth, or perhaps to Scoff and Deride; if they began to like of the way, and judge it worth their while to list at (though not just take up) the Cross of Christ, they were admitted to the rank of *Catechumeni*, for a more clear and full understanding of the Mysteries of Faith, being permitted to stand in a more convenient and honourable place, than the *Audientes*, and as appertaining to the Church, though not yet fully received into her bosome, they were signed with the sign of the Cross at their Admission. These were the Christian Embro's, who increasing in the knowledge and the Holy Discipline, received from the Church such wholesome nourishment, as thereby to grow to the perfection of Children, vivacious and ready for the birth at what time they were regenerated by Baptism.

Amb. de illi
qui inuit. c. 4.
Aug. in lib. de
Symbolis ad
Catechum.

38. For which, when they were thought fit, and sufficiently instructed, they gave up their names to the Bishop, and humbly desiring to be partakers of that Holy Sacrament, they had the name of *Competentes*, to whom the Ninth Canon of the Council of *Agatha* ordains, that the Creed be publicly Preached in the Church Eight days before *Easter*, or on *Palm-Sunday*, which was performed in that part called *Baptisterium*, the place where the Font stood. This Creed (which was not read at the Service to which the *Catechumeni* were admitted) they were thoroughly to learn and understand, and for those days intervening before *Easter* to fast and abstain wholly from Corporal Pleasures, as a means for Humiliation and Preparation to so solemn an Ordinance. On *Easter* Eve in some eminent place they recited the Creed, the Articles whereof (of the Apostles Creed) were not at this time whereof we write digested into that order and method which they now retain, it being observed by Learned Men, that St. *Augustine* in his Book concerning the Creed to the *Catechumeni*, therein neither maketh mention of *the descent into Hell*, neither of *Life Everlasting*. The Party being brought to the Font, it was demanded of him, if he believed in God the Father, and upon answer, that he believed he was dipped once; then was he asked, whether he believed in *Jesus Christ* our Lord, and upon the reply, being dipped the second time, the last demand was, if he believed in the *Holy Ghost*, and upon the like return, the dipping was the third time repeated: This Custom of dipping thrice in the more Primitive times, was introduced in remembrance of the Resurrection of Christ on the Third day, afterward, to signify the Blessed Trinity in opposition of the *Arian* Tenents. In process of time, when Hereticks abused this Threefold dipping, to signify Three Natures of the Three Persons, *Gregory the First*, being consulted c. 5. by *Leander* a Spanish Bishop, declared, that whether the Party were dipped Thrice or but once, he received that Sacrament, the Threefold Action signifying the Three days Sepulture of Christ, and the Three Persons in the Blessed Trinity; so also one single Act denoting the Unity of Substance in the Trinity of Persons. But lest by complying with the Custom of Hereticks who dipped Thrice, they might seem to consent to their design, he advised, that in *Spain* the Baptized Person should be but once dipped. Which Advice was afterward confirmed and enforced by the Fathers of the Fourth Council of *Toledo*.

Symbolum
hanc placet
de novissimis Ec-
clesiasticis vna die,
id est ante octa-
vas dominice
Resurrectionis
publice in Ec-
clesiasticis competi-
tibus praedicari.

Perficus. De
monstr. Pro-
hem. p. 31.
Ambros. de
Sacram. l. 2. c. 7.

Tertull. adver-
sus Prae. c. 16.
Basil. de Sp.
Sanct. l. 2. c. 15.
8. c. 2.
Censil. Tol. 4.
De consens.
dist. 1. c. 1. Papa
est tantum.
Greg. l. 1. c. 41

39. The Substantial part of the Sacrament being performed by dipping (whether Once or Thrice) in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, having been enjoyed to renounce the Devil and all his Works, the Pomp and Vanities of the World, they were Signed with the Sign of the Cross, by which Solemn Ceremony, the Ancient Christians testified their Faith in the Cross, that is, the Death of Christ, being not ashamed to own him for their God and Saviour, even by such a Token as was matter of Scandal to the World, and thereby they would also excite themselves, and admonish those newly initiated, to a remembrance of their duty engaged in this Virtual Stipulation, and to discharge their Baptismal Vow. That they might better perform this duty, they were assisted by Confirmation, wherein were used Prayer, and Imposition of Hands, which if useful then for those that were Persons of full Age, hath this advantage besides in such as are Baptized Infants, that now as it were by a repeated Act, they renew their Baptismal Vow, and take upon themselves, what others in their names had promised,

a strong inducement and tye upon them to discharge that duty which now they have owned, and to which they have publickly professed to adhere. Being thus Baptized and made Christians, they were termed, *Infructi*, *Neophyti*, and by allusion to the Secular Warfare, *Tirones*. To express the Effects of Baptism, they wore White Garments, till the *Octaves of Easter*, the Lords-day following, or *Low-Sunday*, which hereupon was called *Dominica in Albis*. Now were they reckoned amongst the *Fideles* or *Faithful*, being permitted to stay after the Sermons and Reading of the Scriptures, allowed to behold the Holy Mysteries of the Altar, and partake of the Lords Table, all which had been denied to them when *Catechumeni*, to whom after the said Sermons and Readings, *Missa est* was pronounced, being not permitted to view the Sacraments. Yet were not those *Novices* for all this, permitted suddenly to enter into Holy Orders, it being against express Canons, for such to be made Priests and Bishops, although in the case of St. Ambrose and some others, the publick utility procured a Dispensation and Exception to this General Rule.

Infructi,
Neophyti,
Tirones.

Fideles.

40. But (to return from this Digression) the Year following, wherein *Timothy* and *Promotus* were Consuls, the Fourteenth of *Valentinian* the Second, and the Eleventh of *Theodosius A. D.* 389. *Augustine* having wintered at Rome, passed down to *Ofra*, intending thereto Sail over into *Africa*, but there he was kept for some time by the Sickness of his Mother *Monica*, which Pious Matron here ended her days. Having performed the last Offices of Duty to her, he sailed over with a prosperous Gale, together with *Alipius* and *Eudius* his Companions, who accompanied him into the Country, where they spent their time in discharge of all Godly Exercises, and *Augustine* wrote several Books before he entered into the Orders of Priesthood, which he mentioned in his Retractions. This same Year also departed to a better Life, in the Sixty fifth Year of his Age, *Gregory Nazianzen* Synnamed the Divine, his Death happening Three Years before St. *Hierome* wrote his Book concerning Ecclesiastical Writers, which the Author himself affirms to have been in the Fourteenth Year of *Theodosius*. He was of a middle Stature, a sweet and pleasant aspect, something pale, his Hair on his Head very thin, yet his Beard thick, his Nose somewhat flat, eye-brows high, his right *A. D.* 389. Eye being a little contracted by a Skar. Though he seemed to be of a robust Constitution, yet was he sorely broken by continual pains of the Gout, and other Infirmities, which confining him to his Bed, he therein refreshed himself with several Elegant and Witty Poems made concerning himself upon various Occasions, of which most are yet Extant. He complains not so much of his Bodily Infirmities, as the pricks of the Flesh wherewith he was sorely afflicted, which having easily conquered in his Youth, by all the means and endeavours he could use, he could very hardly subdue in his old Age. He had made his Testament some years before, by which he gave all he had to the use of the Poor of the Church of *Nazianzen*, except certain Legacies left to his Kindred. Therein mentioning *Alypiana* by the Name of his Daughter, and *Meletius* his Son in Law; *Baronius* is careful to put us in mind, that neither was the indeed his true Daughter, nor he his Son in Law, forasmuch as he himself professeth, that he retained his Virginity inviolable. But she, together with *Eugenia* and *Nomna*, were the Daughters of *Gorgonia* his Sister, Married to *Vitalianus*, to whom she bare also Two Sons *Peter* and *Phocas*. *Alypiana* was Married to *Nicobulus* an eminent Person, and was the Mother of *Nicobulus* the Younger, of whom *Gregory* also maketh mention. But although *Nazianzen* being a Bishop, had no Children, yet his Father had, who was a Bishop too, and begot them in Wedlock after he was initiated in the Holy Orders, which we are content, seeing he himself hath no mind to it, to observe for the Cardinal. Amongst his Works which pass under the Name of *Nazianzen*, the Tragedy doth not at all favour of his Style, nor observes the strict Rule of *Iambicks*, according to his Custom, imitating rather *Euripides* as our *Fulke* hath observed.

Gregory Nazianzen dies.

Aug. Confess.
Psalm in vita.

Lik. i.

Græciæ ecclesie
notitiam apud
Bar. ad
A. D. 389.

Several Editions
of Theodosius.

41. About this present time, *Theodosius* the Emperor gave out a Rescript against the *Manichees*, as well inhabiting in the City as other places, Commanding that "Every where they should be expelled. Another Edict he published at Rome C. 7b. l. 5. de Malif. against Enchanters. Another at Milan, Forbidding execution of Malefactors P. 47. in Lent, wherein abolition of Souls (as he Phrased it) is expected: And at the same place by another Rescript in the month of November he Prohibited the Assemblies of all Heretical Clerks. But as the Emperor took care for the checking of those new roots of bitterness, which else would have sprouted more, and endangered the true and genuine Corn, so this year he laboured as much for the eradication of the old stock of Paganism, which notwithstanding all the Blows it had received, yet ever and anon seemed again to take fresh Root and blossom: *Symmachus* the famous Senator and Orator having clawed him by a Panegyrick, as he had formerly flattered the Tyrant *Maximus*, thought he had brought him by his pleasing Language into so good an humour, that he dared to request of him, that the Altar of *Victory* formerly in the Senate House might be restored. Hereat he conceived such Indignation against him, that he banished him his Presence; and although afterward he was so far reconciled to him either through his Apology of the Mediation of a Novation Bishop (as *Socrates* would have it) as both to pass by the Offence, and the following year to honour him with the Title of Consul, yet he proceeded more vigorously against that Superstition, for which he had interceded. For it appears from *Prudentius* the Poet, that after his arrival at Rome he made it his chiefest care to purge that City from Paganish Superstition and Idolatry, taking order with the Citizens, that Sacrifices and Heathenish Festivities should be abolished, and the Statues of Idols be broken in pieces, except such as were most notable for the exquisiteness of the Workmanship and fame of the Artificers.

Who endeavours to suppress Paganism.

Socr. l. 5. c. 14.
Prudent. carn.
adversus Symmachum.

42. Hence it came to pass, to the great grief of the Pagans, that the Capitol was deprived of its Gods, the Nests where they had harboured, being all rent, and broken. And if *Zozimus* says true, Avarice clothed it self with the appearance of Zeal; as it ever happens in Reformation: For *Stilice*, he tells us, took away the Plates of Gold from the Door of the Capitol, and his Wife *Serena*, depriving *Rhea* the Mother of the Gods, of those Jewels which hung about her neck, apply'd them to her own private use and ornament. But had the Christian zeal of *Theodosius* stayed here, the Pagans had not forrowed to so high a degree. Still remained the Temple of *Serapis* at *Alexandria*, one of the greatest Marks and Encouragements of their superstition yet standing, famous throughout the whole World for the stateliness of its Structure, the Solemnity of its Worship, and the antiquity thereof; but this very Temple this same year, by command of the Emperor, was utterly destroyed. The Pagans of *Egypt* (as we noted before) were of all others most tenacious of their Heathenish Rites, and comforted themselves less than any others to the practice and course of the present times, not forbearing to testify their dislike by extravagant practices upon occasion, as they did at this season, raising great Stirs and Tumults against the Christians their Neighbours, who had discovered and laid open the wickedness of some of their Gentile Mysteries. The destruction of the Temple had been predicted by *Bessarion* an Abbat, as also by *Antoninus* an Ethnick Philosopher or Magician, which foretelling of his did very much encourage and confirm the Pagans, and open their Mouths in pleading for their Gods, though otherwise the loss they had sustained by the destruction of their Temple, had shut them with Shame and Confutation. This gave occasion to St. *Augustine* to write a Book concerning the Divination of Spirits, as he himself testifieth at the beginning of that Work.

Which very much enraged the Pagans.

Eusebius in
vita Adelfi.

43. What indignation was conceived by the Pagans, for the ruin of this famous Temple, appears from *Eusebius Sardianus*, the Compiler of the Lives of Philosophers, a Man extremely addicted to Heathenish Superstitions and Magical Arts, and who lived at this time whereof we write. He rails exceedingly against *Theophilus*, whom he calls a Pious Man, and the rest that were employed in that work deriding them for making War against the Stones, Statues, with other Materials, and twitting them for their Avarice, Sacrilege and Impiety, in spoiling the place of its rich Ornaments and Treasure. But he hath no patience when he comes to relate how into these sacred places, as he calls them, were Christian Monks introduced, men in appearance (saith he) but living as filthily as Swine. He adds, that they did publickly commit infinite and un-

speaking Villanies, yet was it held a piece of Piety in them to Consecrate and defile the esteem and reverence of the Holy place; for at that time (so he goes on) every one that wore Black, and flamed not to appear publicly in bad Cloathes, obtained a certain Tyrannical kind of Authority, into such an opinion of Vertue was that sort of men advanced, of whom also is spoken in the Commentaries of Universal History. They placed Monks (so he proceeds in his Ethnick fury) at *Canopus*, that for Gods who are seen no otherwise than by the mind, they might give divine Honours to Slaves and Flagitious persons, for they shewed for Gods the seasoned and salted Heads of such, as for the multitude of Villanies, had by the Judges been put to death, to those they bowed the Knee, those they received into the number of Gods appearing all ragged and nasty at their Sepulchres: Amongst these some were Martyrs, others Deacons, and were accounted Messengers and Arbitrators of Prayers and Petitions with the Gods, whereas they were perfidious Slaves, ignominiously subjected to Stripes, and bearing Scars in their Bodies, the Marks and Tokens of their Wickedness and Villanies. Yet such Gods doth the Earth bring forth. Thus the Impious Wretch out of his blasphemous mouth belcheth Lies and Slanders against the glorious Martyrs; a very fit Authour for the Cardinal Annalist to use in behalf of his Catholic Religion and Worship of Relicks, against the Heretics of this Age (us poor *Protestants*) if all be considered: Just such another as *Apion* or *Tacitus*, or some such lying and railing *Rabble*, in the Jewish Matters.

44. But *Rufinus* hath described, together with this most Magnificent Temple, these most Flagitious Mysteries wont to be celebrated with those pious Frauds therein used to deceive the People. *Socrates* writes, how *Theophilus* the Bishop of *Alexandria* being authorized by the Emperour to destroy these Cages of unclean Beasts, shewed forth to the open face of the World the vain and ridiculous Practices used both in the Temple of *Serapis* and others, causing such things among them as resembled the Yards of men to be carried through the *Forum*, to their utter Shame and Ignominy. That the Pagans inhabiting *Alexandria*, and above the rest such as professed Philosophy, seeing how things went, could no longer contain themselves, but added new and far more grievous Offences to their former Acts, both Tragical and exceeding in Cruelty. They all jointly set upon the Christians, who standing upon their defence, a great Fray ensued, wherein died a far greater number of the Faithfull, than of the Pagans, who now in their cold blood considering what they had done, and apprehending the Emperours fore displeasure, ran away and hid themselves in several lurking places, of which number were *Helladius* and *Ammonius*, both Grammarians, of whom *Socrates* saith, he was Scholar in his younger years.

45. But the Fray being over, the Governour of *Alexandria* and the General of the Army came to assist *Theophilus* in the overthrow of the Temples, which now went down apace, the Idols of the Gods being turned into Kettles and other necessary Vessels, for the Emperour commanded they should be sold for the benefit of the Poor. Yet did *Theophilus* order that some one Idol should be reserved and set up in some publick place of the City, therewith to disgrace the Ethnick Religion in after-time. *Socrates* assures us, that to his knowledge *Ammonius* the Grammarian was much troubled thereat; saying, that the Pagan Religion thereby was subjected to much Infamy and Reproach. This was the greatest blow that the publick profession of Paganism had received, this place of *Alexandria* being, as it were, the Fountain of that Worship and Superstition, which being destroyed and removed out of the way, the other Houses, which were but as Chapels in comparison of this Temple, were more easily demolished. But the Gentiles acted with despair and rage, assembled all men for defence of their Gods, and killed many Christians, amongst whom was *Marcellus* Bishop of *Apamea* in *Syria*, by whose care the famed Temple of *Jupiter* in that City was demolished. *Sulpicius Severus* tells us also of several Temples razed by procurement of *St. Martin* in *Gall*, so that the Western Bishop was not behind their Brethren in contributing their utmost diligence for eradicating of this Superstition which held them yet still several years 'er it could universally be accomplished, so difficult a matter it was to enter into the strong Mans House to bind him and spoil his Goods.

46. About

46. About this time it seemed good unto the Church, (so *Socrates* expresseth himself) to take away the Office of such Priests, as were appointed throughout every Church, to receive Penitents after Confession, unto the Company of the Faithfull; and that for this occasion. Since the time that the *Novatians* separated themselves, and refused to communicate with such as fell in the Persecution under *Decius*, the Bishops added to the Ecclesiastical Canon, that in every Church a Priest should be appointed, for the re-admission of Penitents, to the end that such as had fallen after Baptism should in his hearing confess their Sin and Infirmary; which Canon is as yet in force among other Sects, only the true Christians embracing the Faith of one Substance, together with the *Novatians* have banished this Penitential Function. Neither did the *Novatians* at the beginning allow of this addition; but the Bishops now governing the Churches, although they retained this Custom of a long time, yet removed it out of the Church in the time of *Nellarius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, by reason of an heinous offence committed in the Church, in such sort as followeth. A certain Noblewoman came to such a Priest and confessed orderly the Sins he had committed after Baptism, at length accused her self of another Crime, declaring that a Deacon of that Church had abused her Body. For this Offence, by this means brought to light, the Deacon was banished the Church, and the People was much moved, as well in regard of the heinous offence committed, as that the Church was thereby much loaded with Reproach and Infamy. But the Priests being sharply rebuked, and the aforesaid Crime objected to them, *Eudamon* Minister of that Church advised *Nellarius* the Bishop to take away the Function of the *Shriving Priest*, and grant free liberty to every one as his Conscience served him, to partake of the Holy Mysteries, to prevent the like Scandal for the time to come. So much did *Socrates* hear of this matter from *Eudamon*'s own Mouth.

47. About the same time *Theodosius* the Emperour committed such a piece of Severity as gave occasion to such an act of Church Discipline, which as for the Dignity of the Subject hath been remarkable to all Posterity. The thing was this. The Inhabitants of *Thessalonica* quarrelling with *Botheritius*, the *Præfectus Militum* in *Illyricum*, about their Waggon-driver, whom being imprisoned, he refused to release at their desire for the running of a Solemn Race, rose against him and slew him, which thing brought to the Ears of the Emperour did much incense him, yet at the intercession of *Ambrose* and other Bishops attending him at *Milan*, his Choler seemed to be allayed, and he promised to pass by and forgive the Fact. But the Courtiers coming to talk with him perswaded him not to let go unpunished a Matter of so bad Example, and thereupon the People being invited to the Circenian Games, were compassed about with Souldiers, who without any difference of Age or Sex, Guilty or Innocent, fell upon them, and running through the Streets killed all, as well Strangers as Citizens, whom they met; so that about 7000 Persons were thus slaughtered in a matter of three Hours space. The News coming to *Milan*, where the Bishops were assembled in a Synod, *Ambrose* in the Name of all, first by Letters signified to the Emperour, how horrid a Fact he had committed, and that thereby he had rendered himself unworthy of Christian Communion, and when *Theodosius* came to give satisfaction, and remove the Scandal, he publicly and stoutly refused him entrance into the Church for eight Months, till his Penitence might fully appear, enjoying him withal to make an Edict, whereby Sentence of Death and Confiscation of Goods should be stopped from Execution for thirty days, that the Merit of the Cause might in such a space of time be thoroughly weighed and examined.

48. The Emperour received this Chastisement with wonderful Humility, Patience and Moderation, setting thereby such a Copy and Pattern of submission to Ecclesiastical Censures, as *St. Ambrose*, *St. Augustine*, with the rest of the Churchmen and Writers of that Age, and all ever since have both applauded and admired. But *Erasmus* an eminent German Physician, so learned in his Art that *Riolan* esteems him the greatest man that hath lived since *Felinius*, whatever his success was in Theology, wherein he travelled much also, hath passed a sharp Censure upon this Discipline so severely pressed upon the Imperial Majesty of *Vide Hyspanum*, *Theodosius*, terming it an unjust Act, and affirming, that it can never be maintained by any true and solid Reasons. However the Humility of *Theodosius* as well herein was eminent as in another point, wherein *St. Ambrose* also largely shewed his Ecclesiastical Authority. It was the Custom at *Constantinople* for the Emperours

Causing them to fall upon the Christians, of whom a great number were slain.

Amongst whom was *Marcellus* Bishop of *Apamea* in *Syria*.

L. 2. c. 22, &c.

L. 3. c. 16, 17.

Theodosius commits an act of Cruelty for which he undergoes Ecclesiastical censure.

Sozom. l. 7. c. 15.

L. 5. c. 19.

Theodosius l. 5. c. 17. *Sozom.* l. 7. c. 24. *Nicph.* l. 12. c. 40. *Gr.* *Amb.* Ep. 28. *Gr.* in *Jan.* *Theod. Aug.* de *Croit.* *Dei* l. 5. c. 26. *alii.*

in *Anthropog.*

Vide Hyspanum de *origi-*
ne *Sc.* *tem-*
plorum l. 2. c. 1.

An is removed from fitting in the Chancel by St. Ambrose of Milan.

perous to fit within the Chancel amongst the Clergy, at celebration of Divine Service, which *Theodosius* thinking with as little difficulty to do at *Milan*, the Bishop would not suffer him to enjoy that privilege and convenience in his Church, but bade him go out and sit with the rest of the Laicks in the body of the Church, to which order he not onely submitted whilft he there resided, but at his return to *Constantinople* is said there also to have observed it, though invited by the Bishops to reassume his former Seat: and *Sozomen* tells us, that his Successors herein followed his example, of which this Historian himself was an Eye-witness. But here for the understanding this and other passages more fully, we shall speak something concerning the form and fashion of their Churches in those Primitive times, with the order of their sitting, and how each Person was placed according to his calling and function, being much assisted in the disquisition of this matter from what our most Learned *Mountague* hath written of this Subject.

The first places dedicated to Divine Service.

49. The first place we meet with wherein Christians made their Assemblies was that *Tronion*, or upper Room, mentioned in Scripture, where the Disciples assembled presently after our Lord's Passion. Yet according to convenience, and as they might do it with safety they met sometimes in one place, and sometimes in another. In process of time, divers devout Christians gave their own Mansion Houses to be Meeting places for their Synaxes or Holy Assemblies, which *Theophilus* (he to whom *St. Luke* Dedicated his Book) is said to have done at *Antioch*, being if not the very first, yet one of the first of those Benefactors, which example was followed by *Claudius Pudens* a Senator at *Rome*, who consecrated his House to Divine Service, with the Title (as they called it) of *Ecclesia Pastoris*, or the Shepherd's Church. By little and little in succeeding Ages Houses were built for this very purpose, especially in peacable times, as under *Titus*, *Adrian*, *Antoninus Pius*, *Commodus* and others. These they called *Aedes Sacra*, *Oratoria*, *Ecclesiae*, *Martyria*, *Kaionikes*, *Domus Orationis*, *Ecclesiae* and by some other Names, never in those ancient times Temples or *Nabi*, Temples and *Ecclesiae* standing in *Antioch*, in opposition, before the time of *Constantine*: yet even in these times were some called *Houses*, built and adorned more than ordinary, all which were demolished by Edicts of *Dioclesian* and *Maximinus*. After the conversion of *Constantine* they began to be built sumptuously, and to be called Temples, but not *Monasteria*, *Semnae*, *Synagoga*, or the like. Yet in *Ignatius* his Epistle to the *Trallians*, the Christian Assembly is termed *Synagoga*, contrary to what is affirmed by *Gregory Martine* a certain Literator, who brauls against us for sometime using the word Congregation for the Church (which we did in that notable Collect before the late Reviving of the Liturgy) as if they two were impossible.

The order and method of seating the Congregation.

50. The most ancient Christian Churches were of an Oval Figure, or *Emphialis*, like some sort of Ships (upon which account the Body of the Church by Canonists is still called *Navis*) long, narrow before and behind, bulked out on both sides in the middle. In the midst was the Bishop's Seat, styled *thronos* for the Ascend to it, and *episcopus* for its eminency. At the East was placed the Altar, though at *Antioch* sometime in the West. In the middle was also the *ambo* or Desk where the Old and New Testament was Read to the People by the *Anagnostes* or Reader. Round about the Bishop's Seat sat the Presbyters, and behind them stood the Deacons, except the *Prætorius Diaconum*, or the Archdeacon, who constantly attending the Bishop stood close by him, being ever the Eldest in time, and not preferred out of affection; excepting also those Deacons who by course attended at the Women's Seats to see all things decent and in good order. On one side sat the Lay-men, and on the other the Women, separated from the Seats of the Bishops and Priests by *Cancelli* or Rails, as also from each other. At the Mens Seats attended the *Ostiaarii*, as the Deacons at those of the Women. Young Men, if there was room fate, if not, stood; Boys were with their Fathers, Girls with their Mothers. Widows and Elder Women fate foremost, Married Wives and Mothers by themselves. The Younger sort of Women, if there was room, stood among the Grave Matrons; if not, behind them. The Deacons took care that none talked, whispered, laughed, coughed or sneezed aloud, slept or otherwise misdeameaned themselves in the time of Divine Service, every one being to demean himself with discretion, as understanding the business in Hand, with sobriety, watchfulness and attention to what was done or said. As for private Oratories or Chapels they had none, for private Houses or several Families, which use when afterward it crept into the Church, being

Emphialis
navis
thronos
episcopus
ambo
cancelli
ostiaarii
navis

Private Chapels forbidden.

ing forbidden, and the User censured by a Council in the Greek Church, we find prohibited also in *Gratian's* Decree, by the thirty first Canon of the same Council in *Trullo*. Such Clergymen were declared Excommunicate, that administered Baptism, or used Prayers in Oratories or private Houses, which in opinion of the Greek Canonists is forbidden in the fifth Canon of the Council of *Antioch*, and the Thirty first Canon Apostolical (as they are called) and held no better than a Schismatical Conventicle, erecting Altar against Altar. However we see both by the Roman Canon Law, and our own Provincial Constitutions and Customs, that Liberty was afterward indulged of having private Oratories or Chapels to Noble Men and others, a thing perhaps of lesser inconvenience than another practice crept very lately into our Churches, both contrary to Primitive Patterns and the practice of all Churches, aswell Reformed as others. Every Man must now (as if like *Horfes*, each Christian would kick another) have his own Stall so elevated, that he can scarcely look over it, as fit only for lolling and sleeping, so that if all kneeled when they Pray to their Maker (which certainly is the humblest posture) a Stranger coming in should not see one Man in the Church besides the Minister. A Custom which is both the effect and the cause of pride, sloth, irreverence and contempt of all good order. But enough to our purpose.

51. The Law made by *Theodosius* for deferring execution Thirty Days, is yet extant both in the Code of *Theodosius* and *Justinian*, directed to *Flavianus* the *Præfatus Prætorius* of *Ilyricum* and *Italy*, in the Name of *Gratian*, *Valentinian* and *Theodosius* from *Verona*, in the Consulship of *Anonius* and *Syagrius*, which is eight years before the true date thereof, for else *Theodosius* must have come into *Italy* before the Expedition of *Maximus*, which is against the testimony of all Antiquity, or the Law must have been made by some other than him, which at length was abrogated by *Nicephorus Botoniates*. But to pass to other matters.

Scire about Justinian.

At this time great stir was made by *Jovinian* a Monk of *Milan*, who holding Wedlock equal in Honour with Virginity, was opposed and condemned as a great Heretick by *Siricius* Bishop of *Rome*, *Ambrose* of *Milan*, and *Hierome*, the later of whom in writing against him seemed so to extoll Virginity, as with the *Manichees* to despise and cast dust upon Marriage, which being very ill reformed by many good Men, he was forced to write an Apology and explain himself. These stirs were followed or accompanied by others about the writings of *Origen*, of which *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem* was the great Defender. To him first wrote *Epiphanius* Bishop of *Salamina* the chief City of *Cyprus*, against whom he had conceived great Indignation, both for ordaining *Paulinianus* the Brother of *Hierome* in *Palestine* out of his own Diocese, and especially when he prayed for using this expression, *Lord grant to John that he may Believe aright*. *Epiphanius* in his Letter so excuseth himself, that he also reckons up many errors of *Origen* maintained by him; and signifieth, that the true offence he had given him was, his reprehending him for so doing.

And Origen.

52. This Letter passing from one to another, *Eusebius* of *Cresmona* desired *Hierome* to Translate it into *Latin*, and keep it private, which he did about eighteen months. But then *John* made means to get it into his Hands, and accused *Hierome* both as an unfaithfull Translator, and a turbulent Person, who sought to encrease differences in the Church, by adding Oil to the Flame of that Controversie, which might else have been extinguished. *Hierome* herewith nettled, writes against him two Letters to *Pammachius* his great Friend, a Man of Noble extract, as descended from the ancient Family of the *Camilli*, wherein he vindicates himself as to the Translation, having used no greater Liberty than a faithful and Learned Man justly might. And then he accuseth *John* as addicted to the Errors of *Origen*, which he sheweth to have been many, and more bitterly inveigheth against them than *Epiphanius* had done two years before, though he himself had translated many of *Origen's* Books, on which he had not been wanting to bestow very large Encomiums. But upon this account he also began to speak and write very ill of *Rahus* and others whom formerly he had extolled to the Skies. Toward the latter end of one of his Epistles he makes mention of a Solar Eclipse, which had happened a few months before, to the great consternation of thousands of people, about *Whitsonide*. This fell out on the sixth of *June* one and twenty days after *Whitsonide*. And in the same year the Sun was again obscured on the second of *December*, which *Cabricius* erroneously, if *Capellus* be Judge, calleth back to the twentieth of *November*; and because this Eclipse preceded the Coronation of *Honorius* forty days, *Prosper* and *Marcellinus* write as if it had fallen out the very day of that Solemnity.

De Consec. q. 1.
I. c. clerici
qui mini-
strum vel hap-
tismum in O-
ratoriis que
intus domus
sunt, cum con-
fessu Episcopi
loci hoc facere
precipimus.
Si quis vero
hoc non obser-
naverit depo-
natur.

C. Just. lib. 9.
Tit. 47. c. 22.

Siric. Ep. 1.
Am. Ep. 80.
Hier. adversus
Jovin. & Ep.
51. 52.

Op. Hieron.
tom. 3. Ep. 16.
& 64.

Eod. tom. Ep.
17. & 64. &
Tom. 1. Ep. 5.
& 23.

Ep. 17.

Valentinian the second murdered by Arbogastes a Frank.

Augustine ordained Priest.

A new Edict against the Eugens.

Theodosius the Emperor dies.

Augustine made Bishop of Hippo.

53. About this time in the seventeenth year of his Reign was *Valentinian* the second murdered by procurement of *Arbogastes*, the Frank. *Ambrose* Bishop of *Milan* made his Funeral Oration, wherein he hath this expression, *He died without Baptism, and yet enjoyeth Eternal Life*, for he was but a *Catechumenus* though so long a Christian, and born of Christian Parents, so prevalent was as yet that bad custom of deferring Baptism. *Theodosius* was now got back to Constantinople, where having Built a Church in Honour of *St. John Baptist*, *Baronius* tells us, that the year preceding the Birth of *Valentinian*, he caused the Head of that Saint which had been found in the time of *Valens* to be therein deposited. Concerning this Ceremony, such Writers as mention it agree not amongst themselves neither as to the time nor manner. Other Translations also of this Head are said to have been made into *Alexandria* and *Gall* by other Persons. The *Rhemists* tell us in their Testament, that *St. John Baptist's* Head is at *Amiens* in *France*: others say his Head is in *St. Silvester's* Abbey in *Rome*, besides the scattered pieces of it in other places. There were also kept two Anniversaries for two several Findings of his Head, whereof one was in the Ruines, you must know, of *Herod's* old Palace, and another in the Field of *Emesa*. It's more worth the while to take notice that this year *Augustine* was ordained Priest by *Valerius* Bishop of *Hippo*, to the great content and satisfaction of the People, though to his own regret and trouble. Being now Priest, the Bishop caused him to Preach in his presence quite contrary to the Custom of *Africa*, which permitted not Presbyters to Speak in the Church when the Bishops were there; but after this example given, it began to be broken and antiquated in other places.

54. *Eugenius* whom the Murderers of *Valentinian* had put in his Place, being cheered by the Promises of the Pagan Prophets, who made him confident of his success, gave them some liberty and encouragement in their Superstition, which caused *Ambrose* to write to him, and blame him for so doing; as also *Theodosius* to make a new Edict for obviating the progress of their Religion, forbidding them absolutely in any place to Sacrifice. He made also several Laws against Heretics, and ordained that such Debtors as fled to Churches should either presently be taken thence, or that such Bishops as protected them should pay their Money, which once fell to the share of *St. Augustine* when Bishop. He being but Priest as yet, had a great and publick Dispute at *Hippo* with *Fortunatus* a *Manichee*, concerning the Original of Evil, wherein he gave him so eminent a foil, that he durst not any more appear in that City. At this time *Parnesianus*, the Bishop of the *Donatists* dying at *Carthage*, *Primianus* was first chosen in his room, and then afterward *Maximianus* by others, whereupon arose a great Schism amongst the *Donatists* themselves, of which *Augustine* often taketh notice. The matter being brought before three Councils, *Maximianus* in them all had the better of his Adversary, but in a Fourth consisting of three hundred and ten Bishops, held on the Eighth before the Calends of *May*, two years after the beginning of the Dispute, *Primianus* had the upper Hand, which great variety of passions and inclinations very much confounded the *Donatists*. The year after these things happened the Death of *Theodosius*, to the great detriment of Christian Religion, had not his Sons *Arcadius* and *Honorius* at their first entry by several new Edicts established and secured the Profession thereof, receiving as a reward of their Zeal protection from the treacherous attempts of *Rufinus* and his Companions.

55. The same year that *Theodosius* died, was *Augustine* in the forty first year of his age made Bishop of *Hippo*, though *Valerius* the Incumbent was yet living. He was for his Piety and Abilities grown by this time into great esteem, and so much taken notice of in all Countries, that *Valerius* fearing he might be called to some other place, and the Church deprived of so good a Pastour, dealt with the Primace of *Africa* that he might be Consecrated in his life-time, it being a thing highly convenient, and not altogether without precedent. When he had prepared the matter thus, and made the design known to the People, they received it with great applause, and in a manner constrained *Augustine* to accept thereof, though it was flatly against the Canons of the *Nicene* Council for a second Bishop to be ordained to a Church of which he consecrated both he himself and *Valerius* was at that time ignorant. About this time *Fritigild* a Queen of the *Maxomans* hearing of the fame of *Ambrose*, imbraced (as *Paulinus* writes in his Life) the Christian Faith, and procured from him a certain Catechetical Treatise for her fuller information therein. At the request of the Bishop, she persuaded her Husband to submit to the Romans, and came to *Milan*

Obit (sic) Augustinus & 18. men vixit in cur eterna.

Postul. in vita c. 5.

C. Th. de Pag. l. 12.

C. Th. de his qui confug. ad Eccles. l. 1.

C. Th. de pifion. Profper. in Chron. Aug. Ep. 33. 110.

Postul. in vita.

Milan to see that good Prelate, but he had left this life e'er her arrival there, dying not full three years after the departure of *Theodosius*, the day preceding the Nones of *April* and *Easter-day*, after he had sitten in the See of *Milan* 23 years and about 4 months, and scarcely completed his grand Climacterical. As *St. Ambrose* wrote some Books which are not extant, so many now extant under his name he never wrote as is confessed on all sides. Amongst the spurious things ascribed to him it is observable that the *Missal* going under his name makes mention of the Feast of the Assumption which was not received till After-ages. Nevertheless his service Book or *Officium Ambrosianum* supposed made by him was long in respect and use, till *Pope Hadrian* calling a Council with Assistance of *Charles the Emperor* abolished and burnt it commanding that of *Gregory* universally to be used. But not long continued this in such esteem but that the Roman Service came to be oft two fashions, the new and old, as may be seen in *Pamelius* his Preface before *Mirologus*, who reporteth also out of *Radolphus de Rivo* that about the year 1277 *Pope Nicholas the third* removed out of the Churches of *Rome* the more Ancient Service Books and brought into use the *Missals* of the Friars *Minorites*, inasmuch that about 100 years after the said *Radolphus* happening to be at *Rome* found all the Books to be of the new stamp. But of later chopping and changing hereafter.

56. *St. Ambrose* was followed into a better World by *Neclarus* Bishop of *Constantinople*, who died on the 27 of September of the same year, and *Martin* of *Tours* who departed this Life the night intervening betwixt the 10th. and the 11th. of November. To *St. Ambrose* succeeded *Simplicianus* and in the Room of *Neclarus* was consecrated, Feb. 26. *John* a Priest of *Antioch*, for his Eloquence surnamed *Chrysolome* notwithstanding the opposition of *Theophilus* of *Alexandria* who pretending a right in the Election of Bishops to that See endeavoured to bring in *Sifdore* a Presbyter of his own Church. To *St. Martin* that wonderful Bishop of *Tours* (whose miraculous Life is written by *Sulpicius Severus* a Roman Citizen, a Man Noble, as *Gennadius* calls him, both in Birth and Learning) succeeded *Briccius* on the 29th. of November, though *Baronius* contendeth that this happened not till the fifth year after, rejecting the Testimony of *Gregory* one of *Martin's* Successors and alleging that of *Severus*. And all these were followed to another Life by *Siricius* the Roman Bishop who died February 21. of the following year having sat in that See 13 years and about two months. He first received Monks into the Clergy whereas formerly they were reckoned but amongst the Laicks. In the West also as some observe he disallowed the Marriage of Priests, admitting such to Orders as were Married, but forbidding after Orders received the use of Wedlock. The See was void 20 days and then was Elected *Anastafius* and consecrated on the 14 of March the first *Feria*, being by Birth a Roman and however his Predecessor had inveighed against *Mary* of Ecclesiasticks, a Priest's Son, as *Baronius* himself gathereth from his Epitaph.

57. The year wherein *St. Ambrose* died was the third Synod of *Carthage* held counting from the time of *Constantine* as the Compiler did who yet ought rather to have called this the second, and that which he calls the second he ought to have reckoned for the sixth, as *Baronius* gathereth from certain circumstances. In this Synod are said to have been enacted 50 Canons, amongst which none is more remarkable than the 26 which ordains that the Bishop of the first See be not called *Princeps Sacerdotum* Prince of Priests, or *Summus Sacerdos* the Chief Priest, or any such thing, but only Bishop of the first See. This Canon *Gratian* hath put into his Decree a to which is added b neither may the Roman Bishop be called *Universal*, for Confirmation of which he brings in first c *Pelagius* the second prohibiting any Patriarch to be called *Universal*, and then part of an d Epistle of *Gregory* to *Eulogius* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, wherein he expostulates with him for giving him the Title of *Universal*, desiring him that he would doe so no more for this reason, *Quia vobis subtrahitur, quod alteri plus quam ratio exigit praeberetur*, Because so much was taken from him as without cause was given to another; and then having told him that he desired rather to be eminent in goodness than glorious Titles, he backs or rather illustrates his former reason by a second, adding, *Si enim universalis me papam vestra sanctitas dicit, negat se hoc esse, quod me statetur universum*, I am told that he desired rather to be eminent in goodness than glorious Titles, he backs or rather illustrates his former 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of People, by reason of the Diversities of Names, rather than distinction or variety of things, as St. Ambrose informeth. For though this Goddeſs was married by *Heliogabalus* the Emperour to his God, we do not hear she was fruitful.

Centra Symmachum.

62. Christians having the liberty either to demolish or rife those Pagan Temples, had opportunity to pry into, and discover the inwards and most secret Mysteries of their Superstition. Herby was the impotence of the wooden Snake discovered at Rome, where a quick one, or that of *Esculapius* (who had many hundred years before, because of the Plague been pretended to be brought from *Epidamnus*) was said to live in a Cave. And the Privacies of *Apollo Palatinus*, being now unlocked and searched, the Books of *Sibylla*, wherein the remarkable Accidents and Fatalities of the City were said to be predicted, were found and burnt by *Stilico*, which *Rutilius* a Pagan Poet of that time sadly laments. Neither did the Gentiles take this patiently, fit still and look on, but in several Places made Insurrections, attempted the Rescue of their Idols and Temples, and suffered not the Christians to overcome without a bloody Triumph.

Profr.
Aug. ep. 202.
C.

Which caused Insurrections in divers Places.

The Roysers punished by the Edict of the Emperours.

For in *Africa* the *Donatists* plaid such Franks, that the Emperours Command by an Edict, that the *Roysers* which roved up and down should be punished and restrained by the Sword. Whereupon *Petilianus* complaining, and crying out against Persecution, *Augustine* replies that Thieves and Robbers were not to be heard if they quarrelled with Magistrates for restraining their Villanies. The *Manichees* were also so insolent, that this same Bishop who had more reason to understand than most others, found himself concerned at this time to write 33 Books against *Fausus*, a Ringleader amongst those Hereticks. The contentions about the Writings of *Origen*, rather increased than otherwise, against which *Hierome* was the main Combatant falling foul, especially on *John* the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, with whom to some Persons he seemed rather to be offended than with *Origen* himself, yet did the Episcopal Dignity of *John* somewhat repress his Choler which flew all out upon *Ruffinus*, whose Person was not guarded by any such Circumstance. But he bitterly inveighs not onely against him but all *Origenists*, who some years before had in appearance made up the far greater part of the Christian World. When *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, conceived that such Levity displeased many good Men, and so far wrought with him, that he not onely expelled them out of *Egypt*, but that they might be so used in other places, wrote his pascial Letters against them, by which for the following year he appoints *Easter* to be kept on the 19th. of *Pharmuth*, or the 14th. of *Jauria*, *Pamphilia* and *Thrace*. Hereupon the *Origenists* are also condemned by the Rescripts of the Emperours.

C. Th. de Epif. cap. lib. 31.
Aug. adversus Iheron. Petil. l. 2. c. 43. C.
De correctione Donatist. c. 11.

Hierom. Tom. Ep. 30, 31, 32.

The Origenists condemned.

A Provincial Council held at Toledo.

63. In the 400th. year of the ordinary *Æra* of *Christ*, the Consulship of *Fl. Stilico* and *Fl. Areliaunus* in the Month of September, was the first Provincial Council held at *Toledo*, a City of *Tarracoma* in *Spain*, consisting of 19 Bishops, nons for establishing Ecclesiastical Discipline. Hereof the second is observable, which *Gratian* hath inserted into his Decree, forbidding Penitents to be admitted into the Clergy except upon Necessity, and then amongst Door-keepers and Readers, yet so as not to read the Epistle or Gospel. And if any had been formerly ordained Deacons, they were to be reduced amongst the Subdeacons, sitting with them as the *Gloſs* expounds it in the Quire, and at meat, but without part, forming any thing of the Office. Now they explain whom they mean by a Penitent, viz. such as solemnly did Penance, for having after Baptism committed Murders, or other grievous Sins, and had been reconciled to the Church in Hair-cloth. The 8th. Canon forbids any one who had served in the Wars against Christians to be received so high as the Degree of a Deacon. Several of the rest concern the Wives and Children of Bishops, Priests and other Clerks, which whilst the Fathers were enacting, and endeavouring for Peace and Unity in Spain, the Difference still continued in the East, concerning the Opinions and Books of *Origen*. From the East the Contention flew into *Africa* and *Italy*, and in *Rome* *Origen* found many Favourers, amongst which *Melania* was very eminent, who much favoured the Cause and Person of *Ruffinus*. But *Marcella* a notable stickler for the other Party, with *Principia* were so addicted to *Hierome*, that they ceased not to instigate, by all means possible, *Anastasius* the Roman Bishop against *Ruffinus*, whom they procured him to cite to render a reason why he had translated the Books

Or for correctione Grati- an. l. 1. c. 1. Dis. 50. c. 1. p. n. Placuit.

of *Origen* *in ædip* at *Rome*, and after he had mightily extolled them to the World, had presently thence withdrawn himself. He answered without making appearance by Letter, that he had not fled from *Rome*, but returned into his own Countrey, which he had not been for full thirty years; that he was now weary and broken with Travel and Old Age, and therefore resolved there to fix, and that he had not been the first Translatur, nor had first extolled and commended to the World the Works of *Origen*. This refusal provoked *Anastasius*, not onely to condemn *Origen* but *Ruffinus* too, and the following year he renewed his Censure. Afterward he seemed somewhat to relent and incline a little to the *Origenists*, but as *Hierome* writes, was then translated, left by intreaty he should be brought to alter his Sentence formerly given. For he died on the twenty seventh of *April* of this present year, as some gather from certain Writings of St. *Hierome*, after he had governed but three years, though *Baronius* contends that he died not till *April* following, and so late in the See of *Rome* four Years, a Month and thirteen Days. Of his Actions recorded this is most remarkable, that he compelled Priests to stand whilst the Gospel was reading. For at this as well as at other times, there being great emulation betwixt Priests and Deacons in the *Romish* Church, the Deacons puffed up by the continual Addresses made to them from the People, because they dispensed the Goods of the Church, pressed upon the Priests, presuming to sit amongst, and give them their Blessing in the ordinary Feasts, and the Priests on the other hand acted by too much Indignation, disdained to stand upon their feet, when the Gospel was read by the Deacons.

64. We have formerly told the Reader, that *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria* being by *Hierome* incensed against the *Origenists*, banished such Monks as were of that Persuasion out of *Egypt*. These men betake themselves to *Constantinople*, the Bishop whereof they acquaint with their grief, and endeavour to fet him against *Theophilus*. Having the advantage of speaking face to face, they brought him into a good Opinion of their Cause, and made him patronize their persons by writing to the Bishop, whereby a very ill understanding was begot betwixt the two Prelates. But the Monks perceiving that they had profited little by seeking the Patronage of *John Chrysostome*, and that *Theophilus* was rather the more incensed both against themselves and him, made their Address to the Emperour, to whom they accused their Bishop of so heinous Crimes, as very much endangered his Head. *Chrysostome* being suspected to have an hand in the design, was very ill spoken of by the Party of *Theophilus*, and now *Epiphanius* engages himself openly in the Quarrel, who having sent the Decrees of the Synods held at *Alexandria* and *Cyprus* against the *Origenists* to *Constantinople*, when he perceived he profited nothing, but those men were rather kindly entertained, resolved to go thither and oppose them in Person. In performing his Resolutions great Contest happened betwixt him and *Chrysostome*, concerning which, various, uncertain and several incredible Reports are made, but *Epiphanius* in one respect had a great advantage of the other, for *Chrysostome* by the severity of his Carriage and Reproofs had incurred the displeasure of many persons, but especially the hatred of the Great Ones at Court. His rigorous Exaction of Discipline made his Clergy hate him. His refusal to eat with other men, and to be present at Feasts and lawful Diversities increased the rumours, and gained credit to the Reports which they had raised, when he fell upon the Magistrates and Courtiers, they by their Countenance and Interest gave reputation to his Accusers, but when he came to fall out with *Eudoxia* the Empress, that utterly lost him. The insulting Inveective he made against *Eutropius* the Eunuch, who took Sanctuary in the Church after he had procured the Emperour to take away the Privilege of those places, being against a man in misery, though a guilty and obnoxious person, got him the Repute of Ill-natur'd and Cruel. The thing that preferred his Reputation and life was his excellent Preaching, which yet was the less esteemed of by reason of an Emulatour he had in the City.

65. This was *Severianus* a Syrian Bishop of *Gabale*, who understanding that *Antiochus* his Countreyman the Bishop of *Ptolemais* had got good store of money by preaching at *Constantinople*, made him a Rock of Sermons, wherewith he came and set up in that City. At first by his Flatteries he prevailed much upon *Chrysostome*, and got his good esteem, but being popular for his Sermons, when the Bishop had withdrawn himself to *Epheſus* for filling that See, then vacant by the death of the Diocesan; he began to make a Party for himself, and draw the affections of the People from their proper Pastour to himself. The Jealousie which hereupon arose was increased into Enmity it self by means of *Serapion*, an in-

Secratus l. 6. c. 4. C.

lent and turbulent Deacon of that Church, who on a time refusing to rise up and shew respect to *Severianus*, though a Person so far above him as dignified by the Character of a Bishop *Severianus* thereupon could not forbear from reviling him, and brake into this Expression, *If Serapion die a Christian, then Christ is not made Man*. The latter part of these words *Serapion* relates to *Chrysostome* as spoken by themselves, who thereupon having this advantage as he thought against him, flew out into great Passion and Invectives, neither would he be reconciled to him till *Eudoxia* the Empress in the Apostles Church cast her young Son *Theodosius*, if *Socrates* was well informed, at his feet. Whatever he did in this case, if he was not already long it was not *clear* the fell out with him, and conceived implacable hatred against him. The Emperour *Leo* in his rancour in praise of *Chrysostome* assigneth the original cause to his rebuking of her for spoiling the Widow of one *Theopylus* of part of her Husband's Estate, who had been unjustly condemned, and defrauding another Widow of *Alexandria* of a Sum of Money due to her. It's reported of her, that she fell out with *Epiphanius* at his coming to *Constantinople*, because he would not condemn *John* of Herefie, threatening to open the Idol Temples and permit the Pagans the exercise of their Superstition. However it's reported from several hands that *Chrysostome* and he parted in displeasure, and at his departure they mutually prophesied, he that *John* should die in Exile, and *John* that he should not live to return to his own See, both which it's said came to pass, though there be no great certainty concerning the time of *Epiphanius* his death. Amongst the Writings which go under his Name, the Oration in praise of the *Virgin Mary* is none of his, though cited by *Baronius*, *Canisius*, and *a Castro*, but a Declamation of another *Epiphanius* of later time, smaller Learning, poorer Credit and Authority in the Church, one of the Conveners at the second *Nicean* Council.

Two Councils held at *Milevis* in *Numidia*.

66. This same year, viz. the CCCII. of the ordinary *Æra* of *Christ*, was a General Council of the *African* Bishops held at *Milevis* in *Numidia* under the presidency of *Aurelius* Primate of *Carthage*. There was another held at this place some fourteen years after, and the Canons of both are confounded by the compilers, as also with those of other Synods, for the first eight in order which respect Pelagianism can hardly be thought to have been made by the Fathers at this time wherein that Herefie was fairly born, at least known unto the World. In the date the Collectours give the title of *Clarissimi* to the Emperours, which how ridiculous it is, appears by what we have formerly discoursed of such titles of honour, they had found *V.C.* in the Copies, which standing for their fifth Consulship they thus ignorantly interpret. In the mean while the enemies of *John Chrysostome* proceeded in their plots and designs against him. *Socrates* and others tell us, that being displeased with the Emperors for taking the part of *Epiphanius*, he flew out into invectives against all Women, and spake so despitely of them in his Sermons, particularly from that Text, *Gather to me those that eat of the table of Jezebel*, that the being made to believe he meant no other than her self, and *Antiochus* and *Severianus*, whom he maintained in the City, complained of him to the Emperour. It happened opportunely for them that *Theophylus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, being then summoned to Court as a criminal, was on his way thither. He is received not as such, but in triumphant manner lodged in the Palace, say some, and now private Cabals are held for the methods and ways of destroying *John*. They sent some Spies to inquire out the faults of his youth, thence to get some reflecting matter, but the design not taking, seven and thirty of them met together at *Chalcedon*, whither they cite him four times to appear before them, and when he refused them as unequal Judges, and was defended by forty other Bishops which assembled to him at *Constantinople*, they condemned him as contumacious and deposed him from his Bishoprick. When word hereof was brought to *Constantinople* all the City was in an uproar, watching day and night lest their Bishop should be taken from them, but the importunity of the Emperors was so pressing upon her Husband, that by his command a guard of Souldiers took him by force, and putting him by night into a Boat, carried him to *Pretextum* a Mart Town of *Bithynia* over against *Nicomedia*, the People following and opposing the Souldiers to no purpose.

John Chrysostome of *Constantinople* deposed.

67. This violent hurrying him away so enraged the Multitude that a great Sedition followed. As those in adversity are generally pined, many that formerly had spoken against him, began now to take his part, and the Sermons of *Severianus* did but add Oil to the Flame, who ceased not to declaim against him, not as a Man that had been condemned for any Crime, but only as a proud and insolent person. Things came to such a pass, that the Emperour with those about him thought it requisite to

recall

But recalled.

Is in displeasure of the Emperors *Eudoxia*.

And in a Council held at *Constantinople*, *Agathe* is banished.

To *Anastasiu* succeeds *Innocent* in the See of *Rome*.

Agathus chosen in the Chair of *Chrysostome* at *Constantinople*.

recall him, and accordingly *Brise* an Eunuch belonging to the Emperors was sent and brought him back to the City. *Theodoret* lays the cause upon a great Earthquake which happened at this time, by which *Eudoxia* was terrified and driven into this resolution. At his return he would gladly have remained without the City till he could be acquitted by another Assembly, and solicited the Emperour in that affair, but the People compelled him to go to his Church, and to preach to them as at other times, whence his Adversaries gathered matter again wherewith they charged him upon the next opportunity. He continued in his Chair for about the space of a year, preaching to the People those excellent Discourses, which being taken from his Mouth in Short-hand by some on purpose appointed, were afterwards published, to the great edification of the Church in all succeeding Ages: At length he split himself upon the same Rock, incurring afresh the displeasure of the Emperors upon this occasion. The People erected her a Statue of Silver upon a pedestal of Porphyry very near to the Church of *Wisdom*, and at the Dedication celebrated Shews and Plays after the accustomed manner. Now either for that there was something in this Solemnity which favoured of Impiety and Superstition, the bonds of Christian liberty, and Imperial Laws made concerning such matters being violated, or because the place being too near the Church the noise and tumults made a disturbance in Divine Service, and in a manner prophaned the Ground; or out of his innate prejudice against all manner of *Speſtacula*, and the severe austerity wherewith his best friends cannot deny but he was much transported, he declaimed earnestly against the thing. The Emperors herewith being sore nettled, and with the many scoffs and taunts he used against such as were Authors of the Solemnity, threatened him deposition and death also, and easily persuading *Arcadius* her Husband to lend her his Imperial Authority, wrote to the Bishops his Enemies requiring them to meet with all speed at *Constantinople*. *Chrysostome* upon notice hereof so far accommodated himself to the humour and condition of the times as to make another Sermon against her with this Exordium, *Herodias rageth afresh, smaceth again, daneth as formerly; still seeketh the Head of John to be presented her in a Platter*.

68. His Enemies the Bishops being re-assembled consulted all manner of ways how to accomplish the business for which they were called. In conclusion, when they had examined many Witnesses but found no testimonies strong enough to convict him of any crime, they fell upon that point upon intruding into his See, and produced against him the Canon of the Council of *Antioch*, which ordains, *That whoſoever being deposed justly or unjustly should repelſeſſe himſelf of his See, without a Synod conſiſting of a greater number than thoſe who deposed him ſhould be again expelled and made irregular*. Against this Canon he justly excepted that it was made by the *Arians* on purpose to intrap *Athanasius* and therefore ought not in conscience to be urged against him, but they easily overruled his Plea by interest in the Emperour, whom having wearied with their importunities they procured to remove him. At first he was commanded to keep his House, but when he refused to neglect his duty in the Church, except compelled so to do, and his Enemies still urged his expulsion to *Arcadius*, he was at length carried bound like a Malefactor into exile, those Bishops that were of his Party being imprisoned, and the People in vain bemoaning as well their own loss as the sufferings of their Pastour. Presently after happened a dreadful Fire, which beginning in the Church shew thence into the Palace where the Senate sat and did very much mischief. The followers of *John* the exiled Bishop accused the Partizans of *Theophilus* as Authors thereof, and they again charged them with it, whom they branded with the Name of *Johannites*. *Socrates* indeed lays it upon them as done out of indignation at what the Bishop suffered, however such inquisition was made, and such tortures inflicted upon them by *Optatus* a Pagan, the Prefect of the City, that several of them upon this account have had the Honour to be reckoned amongst Martyrs. *Chrysostome* seeing no relief could be obtained in the East, where *Theophilus* his bitter Enemy was so potent, betook himself to the Bishop of *Rome*, whom by Letters he acquainted with his case. This was *Innocent* who succeeded *Anastasiu*, after the Church had been vacant one and twenty days. He would gladly have promoted and shewed the Power and Interest of his See, in giving him assistance, but his endeavours as well as aims were to no purpose.

69. For the Enemies of *Chrysostome* to fill his Chair, and cut off all hope of his Restoration, elected Bishop of *Constantinople* *Agathus* an old decrepit Man, of fourscore years of Age, Brother to *Nestarius* who had formerly governed that See, a Man less Eloquent than Fishes, and a worse Singer than the Frogs, if

Palla-

Ser. l. 6. c. 16. Lib. xii. c. 13. Gr.

Leg. Palladii Dial. de Vita Chrysostomi: Aug. de laudibus.

Palladius be Judge, but of singular modesty and of meek behaviour, in the opinion of *Socrates*, who thereupon observeth, that the Church in his time enjoyed great ease and quietness. But many contemning him for the vast difference they found betwixt his parts and those of his Predecessour, and especially induced by a sense of that wrong which they conceived to be done to *John*, refused utterly to communicate with him, and separated themselves from his Church, that so provoked those of his Party, that great Persecutions were raised against them, some Imperial Edicts being procured for correction and restraintment of those who refused to communicate with him and his Fellow Bishops. In the mean time, whilst Christians by persecuting one another, and rendering the seamless Coat of Christ, gave matter of scandal to the Enemies of their Religion, a greater matter of scandal was offered to such in the West, by renewing a great and solemn act of the old Pagan Superstition. This was the Celebration of the old Secular Games, which had been omitted ever since the Conversion of *Constantine* *Vide Part 1. the omission of them would be fatal to the City, were for this one time more restored.* Concerning these Solemnities, we have heretofore sufficiently spoken. This was the two hundredth year from that wherein *Severus* the Emperor celebrated his Games of an hundred and ten years, whereby it came to pass that they were confounded with the Centenaries, but the *Romans*, out of a fond respect to their old Superstition, desired to have them this way celebrated rather than not at all; and *Claudian* in the name of other Pagans, overcome with joy in Poetick Raptures, celebrates the praise of the Emperor for this so great an expression of kindness to his Subjects of the old stamp. But the Pagans having this Inch of liberty given them, improved it (as the Proverb hath it) to an ill broad, procuring the old *Spēctacula* of the *Gladiators* also to be restored, to the view of which the Vestal Virgins went out in a solemn Procession. For these and other things, as Divines observe, the Land groaned, and both Emperor and People suffered the dreadful effects of God's Anger and Indignation, which within a year or two abundantly shewed themselves in the Invasion of *Italy* and other Parts of the West by the Barbarous Nations.

And the Spectacula of the Gladiators.

Arcadius of Constantinople dies.

Atticus elected in his stead.

John Chrysostome dies in exile.

70. The same year that *Chrysostome* was driven into exile, *St. Augustine* the Bishop of *Hippo* disputed publicly in his Church two days together with *Felix* the *Manichee*, who overcome with his Arguments, confessed the truth, and renounced his errors. The year following, being the four hundred and fifth year of our Lord, in the second Consulship of *Stilico*, and the first of *Antemius* on the eleventh of *November*, *Arcadius* the pretended Bishop of *Constantinople* died, having held the See a year and two months. About the Succession great heats and contention arose, and the Disputes continued for four months, after which in the next year, in the sixth Consulship of *Arcadius* and the first of *Probus* was *Atticus* Elected, a Man born at *Sebasteia* in *Armenia*, brought up in the Monastick course of life by those of the *Macedonian* Heresy, from which afterward turning to the Catholick Faith he was made Priest of the Church of *Constantinople*, and became a stickler against *Chrysostome*; of mean learning, but of very good natural parts, and fit for business. By this means was *Chrysostome* kept out of his See, and still imprisoned, very hardly used, and removed at length from *Ara-sopra* *Supra* toward *Pityventis* on purpose to harass him to death, in which Journey he died, and passed to an heavenly Countrey, whom in this World neither his eminent Piety, singular Learning, nor incomparable Eloquence could protect from the calumnies of Sycophants and unjust oppression. He was born at *Antioch* in *Calasyria* upon the River *Orontes*, of a Noble Family, his Father's Name *Secundus*, and his Mother's *Anchusa*. He studied at *Athens*, where applying himself to *Libanius* for Rhetorick, and *Androgathus* for Philosophy, he profited in Learning to the admiration of the whole University, being yet a Pagan. Afterwards he and his Parents were converted, though he was very well learned in the Laws, yet resolving to betake himself to the Monastery, he studied Divinity under conduct of *Diodenis*, *Carterius*, *Eusebius*, *Emisens*, and *Basil* the Great. Then was he made Reader of the Church of *Antioch* by *Zeno* Bishop of *Gara*, a Deacon by *Meletius*, after three years by *Eugenius* a Priest, and at length Bishop of *Constantinople*, and Patriarch of the Churches throughout *Thrace*, *Asia* and the Maritime Coasts. A most excellent both Man and Christian, but as such want not their failings, so is he observed to have brought much trouble upon himself. He wrote some Books whilst yet a Reader, some when Deacon, others when

Prudentius *advocatus* *Syn-macho*, c. 2.

Socr. l. 5. c. 17.

Socr. l. 5. c. 27.

Palladius *ubi supra*.

Socrates.

Socr. l. 5. c. 2.

Nicoph. l. 10.

Theodoret. l. 5. c. 28.

Palladius *Meletius*.

when Priest, but most after he came to be Bishop. His Works yet extant were by *Erasmus* digested into five Tomes, since that published in an Excellent Edition by our Sir *Henry Savil*. Many Spurious pieces bear his name, which *Sixtus Senensis* and others have detected. The Liturgie said to be his is of the same stamp, for it hath a Prayer for *Alexius* the Emperor who was Born long after his death, and for *Nicholas* the Pope or else the Patriarch of *Constantinople*. The Copies much differ one from another. Amongst the Saints there remembered mention is made of *Chrysostome* himself. Worshipping the Image of Christ is spoken of, whereas he in his genuine writings as his 50th Homily upon *Matthew* accounts the Art of Painting Superstitious; and the second *Nicene* Synod though it scrape up all the Testimonies it can in behalf of Images, yet never citeth the Liturgie of *Chrysostome*.

Several Judgments upon his Persecutions.

71. Ecclesiastical Writers observe that many and remarkable Judgments fell upon his persecutions not long after they had accomplished the effects of their Malice. Observable is that story told of *Cyrinus* Bishop of *Chalcedon*, on whose foot *Maruthas* Bishop of *Mesopotamia* treading against his will, when they were assembled in a Synod against *John*, it so corrupted of the brute that he was forced to cut it off, but the putrefaction running over his whole Body, and falling at length into his other Foot he was constrained to lose both and miserably died. *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria* whose carriage in this business makes us suspect he too much deserved the Character given him by *Socrates*, notwithstanding that *Baronius* would fain make him a good and holy Man, not long after was taken with a Pain in his side and died. *Antiochus* and *Severianus* scarcely overlied him. Hail of an unusual bigness fell at *Constantinople*, four days after which was taken away *Eudoxia* the Empress by a miserable manner. Neither were other Calamities wanting, as Plague, Famine, Inundations, Earthquakes, Droughts, Wars and such like miseries as shortly after befell *Greece*. However *Chrysostome* was looked upon in the East whilst he lived, when dead his memory presently began to be very precious throughout the whole Church, which *Innocent* the Bishop of *Rome* perceiving excommunicated *Arcadius* his Successor, though already departed this World, together with the Emperor *Arcadius* and *Theophilus* the Bishop of *Alexandria*, if credit may be given to the later *Greek* Historians, and a Book in the Vatican Library cited by *Baronius*, whereas the more Ancient Writers and those of better Note relate no such matter, and *Theophilus* whom they will have deposed late fall in his See till his death, not to speak that the Synod which Condemned *Chrysostome* how unjustly soever, could not with more Justice be condemned by *Innocent* without an hearing.

Vide Socr. l. 2. Cap. 12. Lat. Socr. Nicoph. l. 10.

Several Edicts against the Pagans, *Calicolas* and Jews.

72. The year following, being the 408 of the ordinary *Era* of Christ, *Honorius* the Emperor published some Rescripts against the *Donatists* and *Pagans*, which upon the death of *Stilico* were become high and domineering in *Africa* to such an height that pretending such Laws as had been made formerly against them to have been his mere device without any Imperial Authority, they rose up against the Orthodox Christians and murdered certain Bishops. In one of those Rescripts of the Emperor together with the *Donatists* are the *Calicolas* condemned, who are also in another Edict of the following year joyined and sentenced with Jews. What these *Calicolas* should be is very obscure, the name being new and unheard of as the Edict it self bears mention, though they are joyined also in an Edict of *Constantine*. Some have thought them Pagans and Worshipers of the *Dea Calce-laris* formerly mentioned, some a sort of *Esseni* amongst the Jews, who worshipped the Host of Heaven; but that they were Christians herein appears because they were Baptized. Yet are they not reckoned amongst Heretics by those that have made Catalogues of such, so that they seem to have been a sort of Judaising Christians or Christianized Jews, and to thence the *odium* of Judaism might take upon them this name of *Calicolas* living under their *Majores*, as the Jews did under their Patriarchs. But this same year also *Theodosius* the Emperor gave out another Edict against the Jews who upon pretence of celebrating the Memory of the hanging of *Aman* dragged Crosses up and down the Streets and burnt them in derision and despite of Christian Religion. He requires the Governors of Provinces to prevent this Scandal and upon Commission of the like Offence threatens the Jews with forfeiture of their remaining Privileges. About this time died *Porphyrus* Bishop of *Antioch* a great Adversary of *Chrysostome's*, who after the death of *Flavianus* had invaded that See by fraud and Tyranny. For whilst the whole City in the grove of *Daphne* was intent upon the *Spēctacula*, he was ordained Bishop by *Severianus*, *Acacius* and *Antiochus* those of his faction with such speed that

C. Th. de heret. c. 19. & de Pagani.

U. supra l. 49. C. supra lib. 11. tit. 9.

Calicolarum nomen inaudum quod nonum crimen superstitiosum vincit.

U. supra l. 49. C. supra lib. 11. tit. 9.

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that many accustomed Rites were thereby omitted, for which fact the People was so enraged that they had set fire to his House and burnt him, but that by strong hand they were overpowered by the Governour of the Town, whom he had corrupted with Money. In his place was chosen *Alexander* a Man brought up in the Monastical course of Life, and of great repute for Piety and Learning, who by joining in one the parties of *Paulinus* and *Meletius* restored Peace to that Church, and made an end of that Schism which had lasted sixty years, from the Ejection of *Eustathius*.

Alexander succeeds him.

Alaricus lays Siege to Rome.

73. The next year was the City of *Rome* besieged by *Alaricus*, upon which occasion when as the *Pagans* betook themselves to their false Deities, *Zozimus* their Historian relates that *Innocent* the Bishop of that City did secretly confer to certain solemnities of that superstition induced by the great proffers made by the *Tuscan Aruspices*, for which report as a mere Scandal *Baronius* is exceedingly concerned. Considering the temper of the relater we cannot but joyn with the Cardinal in his charitable opinion, (though this be not so much a reason to him as something else, and he refuse on Authority how vile soever of which he may make use against us Hereticks) yet cannot but wish that he who shewed so much zeal in behalf of a particular Bishop would have employed a little in opposing some Reliques of those Heathenish impieties which yet cleaved to the Professors of Christianity. For not to speak of that Deluge of Wickedness of which *Chrysostome*, *Hierome* and other Fathers of this time complain, which spread both over the Eastern and Western Empire, the Emperours though Christians as well as their *Pagan* Predecessors suffered their Images to be adored, and this very year according to the old Custome speak of themselves as Gods, and Attribute Divinity to their Persons, none opening his Mouth in reprehension of so unwarrantable a practice. Notwithstanding the Fathers of the Church, to give them their due in this particular, ceased not to declaim against the *Spectacula* and the Licentious practices of the Stage, of which the *Pagans*, as *Augustine* observeth, were the first Founders, yet Christians still too much loved and retained these obscene Sports, frequenting *Baudy Houses*, *Salvian* also complains, and the Emperour *Honorius* is noted as guilty of incest for having Married two of *Silicio's* Daughters Successively. Yet amidst those great difficulties wherewith at this time he was incumbered, he forgot not to publish several wholesome Laws against *Magicians*, *Pagans*, *Jews* and the lately mentioned *Calicolas*, which are yet extant in the Code of *Theodosius* in behalf of Prisoners also, commanding that every Lord's day they should be let out of Prison to receive the Almes of good People, and to the publick Bathes for the Improvement of Religion; the consideration of which made St. *Hierome* deny it was for his Sins that so great Calamity now befell his People, and lay the Siege and Captivity of the City of *Rome* at the Doors of the obstinate and perfidious Gentiles.

Honorius sends forth his Edicts against Magicians, Pagans, Jews and Calicolas.

Ruffinus dies.

74. The year following wherein *Rome* was taken by *Alaricus* being the 410 of the ordinary *Æra* of Christ, *Ruffinus* the Priest of *Aquileia* and great Patron of the Person and Works of *Origen* died in *Sicily*, having retired himself thither upon approach of *Alaricus*. Against him St. *Hierome* unhandsonely insults being now dead, and not able to answer for himself; but he had given him such Nicknames whilst alive, that no wonder he should maintain what he had formerly said and done: For in his Writings he ordinarily gives him the name of *Scorpion* sometimes he calls him *Grannius*, the forerunner of *Pelagius*, and other good Epithetes he gives him, by the consent and Approbation of *Baronius*, who over and above accuseth him for sojourn in the Books he Translated things quite different from the Design of the Authour. Indeed his Translations of *Greek* Authours as now extant seem to have been the products of a most negligent, ignorant and dissolute Interpreter, but the Annalist hath no great reason to condemn him in this Point having made so much use of him in reading those which he could not understand in their own Language. This makes him accuse *Josephus* most falsely for contradicting himself about *Salome*, as if he sometimes called her *Herod's* Sister, and sometime his Wife, whereas the very place he quotes is Sister, but herein he follows *Ruffinus* his Translation, and having no skill in the Language (which certain it is he had not, faith one who was able to judge) or otherwise relying upon Interpreters he is often plunged upon Absurdities as in due time and place may be made apparent. In the mean time we shall take notice that *Theodosius* the Emperour this year published several Rescripts against *Priscillianists*, *Enomians* and *Montanists* to be seen in the Title of Hereticks in the Code of *Theodosius*. As also that about this same time *Synesius* whose Epistles are yet extant was made Bishop

Theodosius publishes several Rescripts against the Priscillianists, &c.

Nulli habent ambiguum etiam ab hereticis & pro hereticis posita referunt nostri nominis allegari.
Th. l. i. c. 2.
Tis. de mult.
5. *Pagani de causis, &c.*

Tom. I. Ep. 16. Sp. Pref. in Hieron.

Ep. Monac. gues. Appar. c. 4.

of *Ptolemais*, concerning whom some admire he should be reckoned amongst Ecclesiastical Writers, much more intrusted with so great a charge. He was Born a *Greek* and *Pagan*, of a Noble Family, in his Youth given to Hunting, and the study of the Liberal Sciences, wherein he excelled being of the Platonick Sect. *Synesius* who calls him Bishop of *Cyrene* desiring not to forget him, that the excellency of his virtues, as he faith, might set forth the simplicity of his Style, writes, that he was so eloquent and so profound a Philosopher that being had in great admiration by impartial Christians they perswaded him to be Baptized, and take upon him the Priestly function, though he neither admitted nor would be brought to believe the Article of the Resurrection; and this they did, hoping very charitably of him, that those things would follow after his other virtues, and that the grace of God would suffer nothing to want in him that belonged unto his Souls health, which hope of theirs, faith our Authour, was not in vain. For how Excellent he proved, both the learned Epistles he wrote, after he was Priest, and the Book he dedicated to *Theodosius*, with other notable Monuments of his industry, do declare.

75. This that *Euagrius* writes of him is but agreeable to what he faith himself in his Epistles; yet *Baronius* concludes that assuredly there was no such matter as his being ordained by *Theophilus*, the Bishop of *Alexandria* holding such an opinion concerning the Resurrection, pronounces those highly mistaken that believe it, and as knowing fully his mind affirms he did but jest and not write what he thought, his design herein being to prevent the imposition of the Episcopal function upon him, which he as much as death abhorred. Certainly *Euagrius* and *Nicephorus* might by living nearer to his Age have as good opportunity, to know the meaning of *Synesius* as the Cardinal, whose good opinion of *Theophilus* (for Men must be good or bad as maketh for his great design) hath no good foundation in Antiquity. *Synesius* not only refused to be Bishop upon the account of the Resurrection (for Hereticks seldom refuse such conditions as may enable them better to propagate and countenance their errors) but out of a Lazy humour which very hardly would admit of business, and especially because he flatly refused to live without his Wife in the Ministry (which since the promotion of *Siricius* had become too commendable) neither converse privately with her as a Concubine, whom both God, the Law and the sacred hand of *Theophilus*, as he faith himself, had given to him. Notwithstanding this his Protestation yet the People was so importunate that *Theophilus* ordained him Bishop, not hoping that he would change his mind as to keeping his Wife, but in his belief as to the Resurrection; for the Cardinal is not ignorant (however he conceals all he may) that notwithstanding the Custome which at this time obtained in *Thessaly* (introduced by *Theodorus* a Priest of *Triva* and Authour of certain wanton and Amorous Books intitled *Æthiopica*) that a Priest using the Company of his Wife which he Married when a Lay-man should be deposed, yet such Bishops and Priests in the East as refrained their Company did it at their own choice without any Law or Compulsion, and many of them notwithstanding their Government and Administration of their Episcopal function, in the time of *Socrates* begat Children on their lawful Wives, which we shall have occasion to shew that in the East they ever did, and in the West for many Centuries yet downward, till the Decrees of the *Roman* See at length with much ado obtained. As for *Synesius* after his Consecration he contended against Heresies indeed, and exhorted his Presbyters so to do. Of his Writings few are extant, except a Volume of his Epistles, from which it appears that he thought soberly and orthodoxly concerning the Holy Trinity, concerning other Doctrines he speaks not much, but of this little whatever he thought of the Resurrection, some things cannot be commended, as that the Mind of Man is the Seed of God, that Angels by their conversation with Men have contracted ill affections, that thereupon the Son of God came down, that sins are purged by punishment. When Bishop of *Homer* and such frivolous things. In adversity he was so overcome with passion and dejection that he was near killing himself for the death of his Son. It repented him that he had suffered the Episcopal function to be imposed on him. He lived still with his Wife, and begat Children after his Consecration, and was of a candid, free and open spirit. But enough of *Synesius*.

His Works and Character.

76. The year following, which had *Theodosius* the Emperour alone for Consul, by reason of the Disorders in the West, a Conference was held at *Carthage*, betwixt the *Catholics* and *Donatists*, which though it had the usual effect upon the Disputants themselves, yet of the ordinary People, and those called *Circumcell.*

Liones

Theodosius
publisheth an
Edict against
the Donatists.

Theophilus Bi-
shop of Alex-
andria dies.

Cyril succeeds.

Morgan or
Pelagius an
Heretic.

First taken no-
tice of by St.
Chrysostome.

Being sum-
moned to Di-
ocletia, he hy-
pocritically re-
cants his asser-
tions.

Which are
etie.

times, very many are said to have been reduced into the Right way; and the Emperor following on the stroke lately given by the Orthodox Bishops to this Heretic, in the next year publisheth a severe Edict, which inflicts exile and most grievous Fines, upon such as should still pertinaciously continue in that Schism. This same year on the fifteenth of October, died Theophilus Bishop of Alexandria, of a Lethargy, after which followed a great Contest about the Election of his Successor, some sticking hard for Timothy the Archdeacon, and others for Cyril the Nephew of Theophilus. Though Abundantius Governour of the Town used his utmost endeavour for promotion of the former, yet Cyril carried it three Days after the decease of his Uncle, and if *Socrates* deal fairly with us, assumed to himself more Power than he ever had enjoyed. From this time forth, he tells us, the Bishop of that See besides the Government of his Clergy and Jurisdiction in Ecclesiastical matters, took also upon him the management of temporal Affairs, as a token whereof Cyril presently shut up the Novatian Churches in Alexandria, and not only rifled them of all their Treasure, but robbed also Theopemptus, their Bishop of all his Estate. But from these differences at Alexandria a Diffension of greater Consequence divers us, a notable Heretic springing up in the Church at this time, the Sower of which Cockle had his Birth and Original in this our Island of Britain. His British Name was Morgan, in Greek and Latin Pelagius, signifying in English, near the Sea. He was a Monk of the Monastery of Bonium or Bangor in Flintshire, wherein lived two thousand Persons famous for their diligent labour, as well as their solitary Course of Life; but quitting that Place travelled up and down the World, and contrary to the observation passing the Seas changed his mind, as well as the Air, and either received from others, (for Baronius would lay the load upon Rufinus) or himself conceived many and grievous Errours, which now disturbed the Peace of the Church, after her Triumphs over the Arian Heretic.

77. The first that took notice of his heterodox Opinions, St. Chrysostome seemeth to have been in his fourth Epistle to *Olympias*, wherein he lamenteth his fall, whom formerly he had looked upon as an Holy Man. This was two years before the death of that good Bishop, the ordinary year of our Lord, 405. about seven Years before the time that *Prosper* assigneth for the Worlds taking notice of this Heretic, though St. Augustine also much about that time, as we may easily perceive had smelt it out. But all this while for fear of a discovery, and the brand he should infallibly receive from the Hands of the Pious and Learned Fathers of the Church, he published his Tenets in the Names of other Men, by the means and procurement, especially of *Caelestius* his chief Disciple. Not only St. Augustine (whom as some observe how truly I know not, by Divine dispensation, *Africk* brought forth the same day, that he was born in Britain, as an Antidote against the Poison) both by Words and Writing opposed this Doctrine. But St. Hierome also, though concealing both the Names of *Pelagius* and *Caelestius*, yet hinting at his Original by twitting the Island of Britain as fertile in Tyrants, and the Scottish Nation. He deduced the Pedigree of these Errours, from the School of the *Stoicks*, all along through the Successions of *Origen* (who yet certainly was rather a Retainer to the Academy than the Porch) *Euagrius*, *Ponticus*, *Rufinus*, and others of that persuasion, taking in the Alliance of the *Manichees* and *Priscillianists*, and descending to *Jovinianus*. At length *Caelestius* published his Heresies at Carthage, yet craftily under the notion of questions only, where as soon as published, they were refuted and condemned by an Assembly of Ecclesiasticks, there gathered together. After this *Pelagius* not able to hold any longer pulled off the Vizard of an Orthodox Priest, and openly maintained his opinions, upon spreading whereof and advice from Carthage, a Synod of Bishops was held at Lidda or Diospolis a City of Palestine, under Eulogius Bishop of Caesarea, and Metropolitan of that Province where *Pelagius* recanted, and out of fear hypocritically anathematized his former assertions.

78. Those were twelve in number as Baronius findeth them in the *Cresconian* Edition, inferred after the Epistle of *Aurelius* Bishop of Carthage, to those of the Provincia Bizacena. 1. "That Adam was created mortal, so that whether he had sinned or no he should have died. 2. That his Sin hurt only himself, and not his Posterity. 3. That Infants newly born are in the same State, that he was before his Fall. 4. That neither through his Death and Prevarication do all Men die, neither through Christ's Resurrection shall life again. 5. That Infants though they should never be baptized, yet may obtain Eternal Life. 6. That

Rich

"Rich men though baptized, yet except they renounce all they have cannot obtain the Kingdom of Heaven. 7. That the Grace and Assistance of God is not afforded to the several Ages, but they depend upon free Will, belong to the Law and Doctrine. 8. That the Grace of God is given according to our Merits. 9. That none could be called the Sons of God, except they were made utterly void of all Sin. 10. That the Will is not free if it stand in need of God's Assistance, it being in the Power of every one to do or not do any thing. 11. That our Victory is not from the Help and Assistance of God, but proceeds from our own free Will. And 12. that forgiveness of Sin is not given to those that ask it, for the Grace and Mercy of God, but according to the Merits and Endeavours of such as by their Repentance do deserve it. Those Assertions are of the very same Nature, and such as are found in the Books of St. Augustine, St. Hierome, *Prosper* and others, who have had occasion to mention them in their Writings, and speak of those are of others, than really divers and Consequences of those, as some of all being this, that as we are born without distinct from them; the Summ of all being this, that as we are born without Goodness and Vertue, so absolutely without vice or flaw in our Wills and Inclinations. For if all depend merely upon our own Will, the Law might send them to Heaven who lived under it, as well as the Gospel can do us, and if they really were not, yet they might have been without Sin; and to what purpose should the Church put up her Prayers and Petitions for Infidels, and such as resist the Truth, or that those who are already converted, should grow in Grace and Vertue, and persevere in them till the end, if we receive not these things from God, but are endowed sufficiently with Power within our own selves, and the Grace of God be only conferred on us according to our own Merits, and self Sufficiency: what need Saints pray to have their Sins forgiven if they live without them, or not to be led into Temptation, if they stand not in need of God's Assistance, but have Power enough in themselves, and their Wills be sufficient to weather it out against all hardships and opposition? As for the Grace of God, it appears from the fourth Canon of the Council of *Milevis* (which as we said before must have been holden not till the discovery made of this Heretic) that *Pelagius* and his most thorough paced Disciples, understood no more by it than the Revelation of the Divine Will, whereby a Man might know what was agreeable or dissonant to it; but as for the Power of fulfilling God's Command, that a Man hath for his own natural strength, standing in no need therein of his Grace and Assistance. Though *Pelagius* by his great dissimulation imposed upon the Fathers assembled at *Diocletia*, yet their jealousy thereof seems not utterly wanting, in that they gave him no Letters testimonial of his Repentance and Sincerity, which happened well both for themselves and other Orthodox Christians, he in a short space recanting what he had before them renounced, and licking up his Vomit, which he had in appearance spued out in their presence.

A Tumult at
Alexandria,
but suppressed.

79. Whilst *Pelagius* a false Brother raised such flurs and Contentions amongst Christians themselves a notable Tumult happened at Alexandria, betwixt such as bore that Name there, and the Jews and Pagans of that City upon this occasion. A certain Dancer shewed his feats of activity upon a Saturday, which being the Sabbath of the Jews, they thereat took great offence, and burning ever with hatred against Christians raised a Tumult, which for this time was appeased by the Care and Endeavours of *Orestes* the Prefect of the City. But it happening that *Orestes* fixing upon the Theatre, some Decree or Law to be for the future observed by the People, some of Cyril the Bishop's Friends were curious to peruse it, and amongst the rest one *Hierax* a Grammarian in great grace with him, whom as soon as the Jews beheld they cried out upon him, that he came thither for no other end than to move Contention betwixt Christians, and those of their persuasion, and laying hands on him, haled him to *Orestes*. He being a Pagan and a great Enemy of Cyril, whom he hated as well upon account of his Faith as because that the Power of the Bishops in Alexandria had much abridged the Authority of the Governours, caused him to be severely beaten. Cyril upon notice hereof, sends for the most eminent amongst the Jews, and threatens them with condigna Punishment, in case they gave not over these mutinous Courses, wherewith they were grievously offended, and set themselves more carefully than ever, to work some notable feat, and shew their utmost rage and spleen against the Professours of Christianity. One certain Night having prepared themselves for this purpose, they set some to cry Fire in the Streets, and to give out it was in the Church of *Alexander*, which as soon as the Christians heard,

Another upon
which the
Jews are dis-
tressed and
driven thence.

they issue out of their Houses, and from all Coasts making toward that place, fall amongst the *Jews*, lying in Ambush for them, by whom they are miserably slain without respect to any Condition. Hereupon *Cyril* the Bishop gets him to the Synagogue of the *Jews*, of whom some he cauteh to be put to death, the Estates of others to be seized, and banisheth the rest, whereby they who had inhabited the City from *Alexander's* time, were now disperfed into all Countries.

Upon which a
Quarrel twist
the Governour
and the Bi-
shop arifeth.

80. *Orestes* the Governour taking the thing it self in ill part, as depriving the City of those People, which by their egregious cunning in trade and practice in brokerage, make their Company defirable to several Places, and worse as done by him, makes a great complaint hereof to the Emperour. *Cyril* was not wanting to himself on the other hand, in laying open the Infolence and Cruelty of the *Jews*, yet desired to be friends with *Orestes*, which offer the other would not close with, either merely by reason of his Ethnick, and inveterate prejudice, or for that he intended to act the second part of what the *Jews* had formerly performed. But their Enmity daily increasing, the Monks that inhabited the Mount *Nitria* took notice thereof, and being at leisure, also as hotly disposed, as lately when *Theophilus* armed them against the Party of *Diofcorus*, resolved to maintain the Quarrel of *Cyril* his Successour, and fifty of them coming to *Alexandria* assaulted the Governour as he rode in his Chariot, calling him *Sacrificer*, a *Heathen*, and giving him much other opprobrious Language. He to appeale them, told them he was a Christian, having been baptized by *Atticus* Bishop of *Constantinople*, but they would give no credit to his words, and prosecuting what they had begun, one amongst them, *Ammonius* by Name, gave him so fore a blow on his Head with a stone, that the blood gushed out about his Ears, and the Officers and Sergeants attending him out of fear shifted for themselves, the Governour continuing in this danger, till the Citizens came in to his rescue, and seized on *Ammonius*, whose Fellows had made a shift to get away. Him the Governour caused to be tortured to death, and both he and *Cyril* again by writing, make their case as good as they can possibly to the Emperour. But the Bishop buries the Corpse of the Monk in a peculiar Church, changeth his Name from *Ammonius* to *Thannasius*, and in a kind of Funeral Sermon extolls the noble Courage of the Man, the great Combat he endured for Godliness, and gives Command he should be called a Martyr, which gave offence to the more moderate and sober sort of Christians, that knew how to distinguish betwixt the Cause, and the Punishment, and were satisfied that the Monk died not for Christ, but suffered what was due to his seditious and unwarrantable Enterprize.

Which is can-
dourously car-
ried out.

81. These just and sober Sentiments of the judicious sort of Christians, caused *Cyril* to suffer the thing to dye, and be forgotten with the Monk, but still the grudge continued betwixt him and *Orestes*, which produced another piece of imprudence, and scandal on the Christian Part, after this manner. There was a Woman at *Alexandria*, by Name *Hypatia*, the Daughter of *Theon* the Philosopher, who trained up in her Father's way excelled all the Philosophers of that time, continued in *Plato's* School the exercise formerly practised by *Plotinus*, publicly read the Doctrine of all Philosophers to such as from all Countries flocked to hear her, and was had in extraordinary Honour and Esteem, not only for her Learning, but exceeding Modesty, Gravity and Courage, which she had sucked in from her Philosophical Principles. Many Letters of *Synefus* to her are yet extant, who calls her Lady and Mistress, and *Sidas* takes notice of her, as a most chaste Virgin. This Person it seems being in great favour with the Governour, the People grew jealous, that she did ill Offices betwixt him and the Bishop, and in conclusion certain frantick and rash Fellows headed by *Peter* a Reader of the Church, watching her as she came home to her House, pulled her out of her Chariot, and dragging her into the Church called *Cesarium*, stripped her stark naked, with sharp shells rent the Skin from her Body till she died, then quartering her brought the Quarters to a place called *Cinaron*, where they burnt them to Ashes. This devilish Act brought great scandal to Christianity in general, as well as the Church of *Alexandria*, and the Person of *Cyril*. *Socrates* is so precise in the Account thereof, that he notes it was committed in the fourth year after *Cyril's* Consecration, the tenth Consulship of *Honorius*, and the seventh of *Theodosius* (which was the 416 of the ordinary *Æra* of Christ) in the Month of *March* and the Ember-days. Yet *Baronius* admonisheth his Reader not to give credit to the Relater of those Stories, whom being a *Novatian* he concludeh prejudiced against the Bishop, for what at his first coming to his Office he had done.

done against those of that perfavation. However we commend the Cardinal for his Charity to a Person of so eminent Dignity in the Church, or rather, if one might dare to judge, to his Champions the Monks, of whose bald Skulls (if they shaved themselves at this time) he is as tender as of the Bishop's Mitre, yet out of a principle of indifference we must also tell the Reader, that others conversant in Antiquity do observe, that as this Age was generally very corrupt, so no greater Plague happened to the Church and Common-wealth, than that of the Monastical Life, which for about an Hundred years had filled the World with so many drones, that scarcely did any hope he could be saved except quitting his station, in which God's Providence had placed him, he exposed the Church and State to the Lust and Tyranny of Robbers and Thieves, who at this time broke into all Places. And because Faithfulness is the most requisite Quality in an Historian, we cannot but farther alledge in *Socrates* his behalf, that those times whereof he now wrote, were as the Morning to his own Day, and therefore however, he or any other might Counterfeit what there was no clear Light to discern, and tell Stories which none could contradict, being beyond the Memory of any alive, yet at such time as the Knowledge of matters must needs be fresh, it were extreme Folly to assert such Fables as both their fresh Date, and Eminence of Persons by whom, and of Places where, they should be acted must necessarily lay open to the Contradiction and Derision of Eye-witnesses and By-standers.

82. But as for the *Jews*, their sufferings were so far from humbling them, that instead of making amends for what they formerly committed, they perpetrate other outrageous acts, which draw down more severe punishments upon them. For shortly after in a place betwixt *Chalcis* and *Antioch* in *Syria*, called *Imnefar* at the time of their Plays and Interludes, in derision of Christ and Professours of Christianity they nail a Child of that Profession to a Cross, lift him up into the Air, and having derided and other ways abused him, scourge him to death; which being known procured great disorders betwixt the Christians and them. And the Emperours acquainted with the horrible Fact, gave orders to the Magistrates of the Country to make diligent inquisition, and severely punish it; whereby it came to pass (as the Historian phraseth it) that the *Jews* inhabiting those Parts, for what they had shamefully committed in *jeft* were punished in earnest. The Rescript it self is not extant in either of the Codes, but this year *Theodosius* by an Edict still remaining in his own Book, commands the Honorary Prefectship to be taken from *Gamaliel* (whom *Baronius* rationally conjectureth to have been their Patriarch mentioned by *St. Hierome*) and other punishments to be inflicted on that vagabond People, which example *Honorius* following in the West, a little after publisheth such another Law against *Jews* having any Civil or Military employment.

Sec. 17. c. 12.

C. Th. de Jud.
l. 22. § 24.

The *Jews*
grown more
infolent, are
punished by
Edicts from
the Empe-
rours.

John Bishop
of *Jerusalem*
dies, *Praxylus*
succeeds.

Innocent Bi-
shop of *Rome*
departs this
life.
Ordained the
Sabbath or
Saturday for
a Fast.

83. In the twenty fourth year of the Reign of *Honorius*, the four hundred and sixteenth of Christ, died *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, after he had governed that See thirty years, into whose room *Praxylus* was elected. And the year following was the last of *Innocent* Bishop of *Rome*, who died on the twentieth of *July*, after he had sat in that See fifteen years, one month and ten days. *Platina* telleth us in his Life, that buying himself much with things appertaining to Christian Religion, amongst other things he ordained that the Sabbath or Saturday should be a Fast, both because our Lord lay that day in the Grave, and for that his Disciples thereon fasted. This we find in a Decretal Epistle to *Decennius* Bishop of *Eugubium* going under his Name, wherein the reason for Fasting on Saturday is given, because that day and the day before were spent in sorrow and heaviness by the Apostles, who also hid themselves for fear of the *Jews*. As for these Decretal Epistles of his Learned Men do very much suspect them forged, because they contain many Traditions utterly unknown to the Divines and Writers of that Age; and intire Paragraphs are found in them, which are also to be seen in the Writings both of the preceding and following Popes. The third Epistle to *Exuperius* makes mention of five Books of *Solomon*; the twenty second talks of the Episcopal *Isfala*, which then were not in use amongst Christians. The Epistle to the Council of *Carthage* is silly and ridiculous; the ninety first and the ninety third amongst those of *St. Augustine* are eliepted no better than spurious by *Baronius*. However we must own this Fasting on Saturday to have been a Custom in the *Roman* Church before this Decretal of *Innocent*, if such there were. Indeed in the Eastern Church the Sabbath or Saturday was kept as a Festival, as appears by one of the Canons going under the Name of the Apostles, and

Tom. 1. Cons.

Can. 65.

was

was unlawful to Fast on it, if we give credit to it and the Epistle which bears the Name of *Ignatius*, to the *Philippians*, inasmuch that this practice in Africa was charged as a fault upon those of *Rome* by the Sixth Council of *Constantinople*, and *Phoebus* Patriarch of that See; yet in the Western Parts where there were fewer converted Jews (whose ordinary meeting on that day might give occasion to the Custom, as also a design to draw in those of their Nation) and where those Heretics mentioned by *Irenaeus*, who held themselves bound to fast on the *Saturday*, because they fancied the Evil God who created the World had finished his work, and that day was the beginning of all evil; where these, I say, gave no occasion to cross their Folly and Superstition by a contrary Custom, it was destitute and appointed to a Publick Fast.

84. Some have conceived the Custom thence taken, that *St. Peter* being on the Lord's Day to contest with *Simon Magus*, the Church of *Rome* set the preceding day a part for fasting and humiliation, to implore the Blessing of God upon a business of so great importance, which yet most of the *Romans* themselves did not believe. Others thought the difference of Customs proceeded from the different Apprehension and Sense which Christians had of Christ resting in the Sepulchre, whereupon the Eastern People in memory of his Rest would not make it a fasting day, whereas those of the Church of *Rome*, in sign and token of his humiliation chose to fast upon it. But the reason given by the Decretal of *Innocent*, seems more full and proper than any. Now when we speak of the West, we do not mean that all Western Churches followed herein the Church of *Rome*, for as they were inclined some observed one, some the other Custom. In many things it's clear, that the *British* Churches conformed themselves to the manners of the East, which it's evident also that *Milan* did in this particular. For *Paulinus* assures us in the Life of *St. Ambrose*, that he never used to dine but on the Day of the Sabbath, the Lord's day, and the Anniversaries of Saints and Martyrs, yet so as when he was at *Rome* he would not be singular, but conform himself to their Fashions and Customs. In *Africa* also we are informed by *St. Augustine*, that some Churches in the same Province dined, and some fasted on this day, and so continued the difference, those of the East fretting in vain against the Church of *Rome*, till after various struggling in several respects this Church got ground, and in this as other matters imposed her Customs as Laws upon the rest of the Western World. But, enough of this. *Platina* tells us farther, that he ordained certain Rules concerning *Jews*, *Pagans* and *Monks*, that by consent and approbation of *Theodosius*, he either banished the City or drove into Monasteries the *Cataphrygæ* Heretics, of whom *Montanus*, *Priscilla* and *Maximilla* were Founders. And he dedicated a stately Church to *Gerulae* and *Prothefus*, for which a certain Matron called *Vestina*, had left a great Summ of Money. Concerning the Furniture and Endowments of this Church, the Reader if he please may consult that Author. *Innocent* after he had at four several times conferred Orders, and therein ordained 30 Presbyters, 12 Deacons, and 54 Bishops, died, and was buried in the burying place at the Bear with the Cap in *Rome*.

85. On the 29th. of *August* following, was *Zozimus* chosen to succeed him, the Son of *Abraham*, and a *Greek* by Birth. Upon this alteration in the See of *Rome*, *Pelagius*, and *Caelestinus* his Scholar bestir themselves, and make application to the new Bishop, whose aid and assistance they implore, as unreasonably condemned by the *African* Fathers, and those of *Diofpolis*. *Pelagius* tells him their opinion onely was, that as Man always sinneth, so may not sin thereby, acknowledging him but to have Freedom of Will; and cunningly submits all to the opinion and censure of the Bishop, who hereupon admits his assertion, embraces his Person as innocent, and receiving *Caelestinus* upon the same submissive appeal, writes to the Bishops of *Africa*, commending these Heretics to them as Catholic Men, and accusing their Accusers as Calumniators, and infamous Persons. The *African* Fathers having received his Letters, therein find fault with two things, first, that he had commended and approved an erroneous Sentence; secondly, that he had usurped Power of absolving them who had been condemned in *Africa*, and they had now the more cause to complain, by reason of another appeal made about this same time to him. One *Apianus* a Priest of the Church of *Sicca*, very infamous upon several accounts, not onely by his own Bishop, but by other Prelates met together, upon this occasion was excommunicated. He betakes himself also to *Zozimus*, complaining he was much injured, who without hearing his Accusers, admits him to Communion, and understanding that the

Which hath been otherwise observed in some parts of the West and all the Eastern Churches.

Zozimus chosen Bishop of *Rome*.

He admits *Pelagius* and *Caelestinus* upon their appeal to him.

And also *Apianus* sending his Legatus with a pretended Canon to set forth his Title to such Appeals.

Epistola *Zozimus* *ad* *Philippianos* *de* *fasto* *domini* *et* *sancti* *petri* *apostoli* *et* *pasche* *et* *sancti* *martini* *et* *sancti* *andree* *et* *sancti* *thome* *et* *sancti* *matthaei* *et* *sancti* *marci* *et* *sancti* *loannis* *et* *sancti* *stephani* *et* *sancti* *agathi* *et* *sancti* *nicolai* *et* *sancti* *laurentii* *et* *sancti* *severini* *et* *sancti* *marcellini* *et* *sancti* *petri* *et* *sancti* *marci* *et* *sancti* *loannis* *et* *sancti* *stephani* *et* *sancti* *agathi* *et* *sancti* *nicolai* *et* *sancti* *laurentii* *et* *sancti* *severini* *et* *sancti* *marcellini* *et* *sancti* *petri* *et* *sancti* *marci* *et* *sancti* *loannis* *et* *sancti* *stephani* *et* *sancti* *agathi* *et* *sancti* *nicolai* *et* *sancti* *laurentii* *et* *sancti* *severini* *et* *sancti* *marcellini* *et* *sancti* *petri* *et* *sancti* *marci* *et* *sancti* *loannis* *et* *sancti* *stephani* *et* *sancti* *agathi* *et* *sancti* *nicolai* *et* *sancti* *laurentii* 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of *Apianus* and what he had confessed, they earnestly desire him, that for the time to come he would not easily admit any flying from them, nor receive any Person to Communion whom they had excommunicated. Forasmuch as he might easily perceive, that this was so defined by the *Nicene* Synod. They treat he would reject all Priests and other Clerks which should flee from them, seeing that by Decree of no Council, there was any thing derogated from the Church of *Africk*, and the Decrees of *Nice* most manifestly leave as well inferior Clerks as Bishops to their Metropolitans, most prudently and justly providing, that all business whatsoever should be determined in the Places where they rise, the Grace of the Holy Ghost not being wanting to any Province, which thing as equitable ought to be observed by the Priests of Christ with all Constancy imaginable, especially considering that any one may freely if he find himself aggrieved, appeal either to the Synods of his own Province, or to a General Council.

Prudentissimum enim justissimè providè, roni quædam, negata, in locis ubi oritur, sine, finitima: nec unicuique Provincia sancti Spiritus diffusumque

æquitas. à Christo sacerdotibus & prudentes videatur & constantissimè teneatur: maxime quin unicuique concessum est, si iudicio officij fuerit cognitum, ad Concilia sua Provincie, vel etiam universale provocare.

88. They * think this they write to be Reason, except there be some who believe, that God can inspire every particular Man with a Spirit of discerning, and deny the same to an innumerable Company of Priests gathered together in Council. They demand how a transmarine Judgment can be good, whether sufficient Witnesses, either by their Age or Infirmary, or many other intervenient Accidents cannot come? And || as for him that should send any Legates, they did not find it was so ordained, by any Synod. They tell him plainly, that the Canon he had sent them by *Faulstinus* the Bishop, they could not find in the Authentick Copies of the *Nicene* Synod received from *Cyril of Alexandria* and *Atticus of Constantinople*, which they had heretofore transmitted to *Boniface* his Predecessour. They bid him send no more his Clerks called *Executores*, lest the smoky pride of this World should be brought into the Church of Christ, which shews all that desire to see God, the light of Simplicity and Humility. And expecting that he would not send *Faulstinus* any more into *Africk*, they take their leave of him with a Prayer for his long Life, and the kind appellation of *Domine Frater*. Thus do the *African* Fathers, reason and plead with *Cælestine*, with such fairness and Christian Lenity, that *Baronius* makes this, and that mild Course which *St. Augustine* takes to disswade the Bishop of *Rome*, an Argument of their obnoxiousness to their Jurisdiction. By this Letter it self, let the indifferent Reader judge whether the Cardinal have any Reason to affirm, that they do not deny his Authority to receive Appeals, and that their words manifestly declare they only are grieved with the manner of prosecution. Doth the Testimony they cite from the Council of *Nice*, I pray, respect the manner of the prosecution, or the business of Appeals themselves, and the concluding of Controversies? Doth their exception concerning the Holy Ghost's inspiration, concern the Method of Appeals, or the referring of Causes to Synods? We may without offence suppose that the Decrees of *Nice*, which they quote were not made concerning the manner of Appeals, but the very being of them; but it's in vain to contend with a Person resolved to say any thing.

89. If the *African* Bishops intended not to derogate from the *Roman* Right to Appeals, as he would have them, why did they make such a Canon as we find to be the twenty second of the Synod of *Milenis*, and the ninety second of the Council of *Africk*, which *Gratian* also has taken into his Decree, ordaining that Priests, Deacons, or others of the inferior Clerks if they find themselves aggrieved by the Judgements of their own Bishops in their Causes, might be heard by the neighbouring Bishops, who by consent of their own Prelates, being allotted them as Judges, might decide their Controversies. But if they thought fit to appeal, they should appeal to none except the *African* Councils, or the Primates of their Provinces. And if any thought fit to appeal to any beyond the Seas, he should be received to Communion by none in *Africk*. The Gloss presently puts you in mind of *Gratian* his Restriction of this Canon, who indeed comes in afterward with his *Nisi forte*. Except they appeal to the *Roman* See, for proof of which he then produces the

Caus. 4. quest. 6. c. 33. Placuit.

* Nisi forte quicumque est qui credit, unicuique posse Deum nostrum exanimis inspirare justitiam & innumerabiles congruissimè in concilio sacerdotibus designare.

|| Nam ut aliqui tæquam à tue sanctitatis latere mittantur, nulla invenimus Patrum Synodo constitutum. Vide Can. 101. Concilii Africani.

seventh Canon of the *Sardican* Council, which giving leave to the Bishop of *Rome* to interpose his Authority, we have formerly mentioned. But let any Person read the Letter of the Fathers to *Cælestine*, and withall consider, that about this very time this Council of *Milenis* was held, as *Baronius* himself proves, and if he judge whether all circumstances considered, *Gratian's Nisi forte* be of any value, and whether the Bishops intended that the See of *Rome*, against whole Jurisdiction they had so struggled, should be excepted. As for the Canon of the Synod of *Sardica*, the Cardinal to vindicate his Popes from forgery (of which some Innovators, as he calls the Centuriators, do accuse them) thinks it mistaken by them for some other of *Nice*, or some one of *Nice* put amongst those of *Sardica*, or because the Synod of *Sardica* was held to confirm the Council of *Nice*, it was accounted, as it were, the same with it, nay in some respects prefers it before that of *Nice*; for as it was equal with it in being Oecumenical, so there was in it thirty five Bishops, together with *Gratus* Bishop of *Carthage*, whereas in the *Nice* Council no more *African* Fathers are found than only one *Cæcilius*, whereupon he concludes that the *African* Bishops could not without breach of the Catholic Peace reject the Canon of the Synod of *Sardica*.

90. But if this be not plain shuffling, let any indifferent Person tell what is. Perhaps and perhaps the Cardinal may say now; but surely he could not think that in all these Debates and Pleadings *pro* and *con*, if they had meant this or that, found the thing here or there, upon *perusal* that there was any such matter as the *Nicene* Canon, it would not have been mentioned, instanced, and thereupon Issue have been joined. But, to see how *Baronius* takes and refuses, accepts and rejects, embraces and scorns every thing, any thing, the same thing, as they make for or against his great Design, let but the Reader consider what he writes of that Council of *Sardica*, how he confesseth that by reason of the contrary manner of proceeding in that Council, the Resolutions and Acts thereof have been variously reported and accepted of in later times, that many things are cited as decreed by the *Sardican* Council contrary to the testimonies of *Ambrosius*; and that *St. Augustine* and others granting former Decrees to have been made by this Synod, yet excepting against it as Heretical and Arian; in conclusion, so great was the uncertainty and confusion, in those times themselves, amongst such as had best reason to know, in relation to this Synod, that the Cardinal writing of it is thereupon seized with admiration. Now it's not only an Oecumenical Synod, but such an one as though all Orthodox Christians in the best times were thine of receiving its Decrees, yet the *Africans* must under pain of Schism submit themselves to its Canons and Decrees. But what if there were no such Canons made by this Synod; what if neither that of *Sardica* nor any other Council ever ordained any such matter about the *Roman* Jurisdiction, and Appeals to that See, from the time of Christ, to that of this Controversie? By the decision of that Question before an impartial unprejudiced Judge we are content to abide, and our Witnesses are those *African* Fathers, who if any such thing had been, they had certainly better reason to know than any of these last Ages, hear therefore their Testimony. The seventh pretended Canon of the Council of *Sardica* ordains, that in case of Appeal the Bishop of *Rome* may send a Latere his Legate or Legates to hear, and by his authority to determine with other Bishops the matter in Controversie; but the Bishops of *Africk* in their Letter to *Cælestine* say in so many words, *Ut aliqui tæquam à tue sanctitatis latere mittantur nulla invenimus Patrum Synodo constitutum: viz.* that any may be sent as a Latere from your Holiness we do not find ordered in any Synod of the Fathers. They were in the words immediately preceding speaking of the inconvenience of Transmarine Judgments. But 'one might object' though it be so inconvenient for Persons to go over Sea, yet the Bishop of *Rome* may send his Legates to them, to Answer which Question or rather prevent it, they come in with a Nam ut aliqui, &c. as in the foregoing words, and then protest in particular against that pretended *Nicene* Canon. This is sufficient to discover as well the truth it self as the Cardinal's shuffling, without this reserve, that had there been any such Decree of *Nice* or of *Sardica*, it speaks not as owning any such Authority in the *Roman* See as formerly invested in it upon any account whatsoever, but for convenience of Tryals de novo this forged Canon erected a Tribunal for the *Roman* Prelate.

Who declare that the Pope hath no power given by any Synod of the Fathers to receive Appeals from any of his Legates into any part of *Africk*.

91. But *Zozimus*, that we may return and take the rest along with us, died after he had late in the *Roman* See a year, four months and seven days, and was buried in the *via Tiburtina*, by the Lady of *St. Laurence*. Of this Bishop two Decretal

creal Epistles are extant, one to *Isychius* Bishop of *Salona*, and another to the Clergy of *Ravenna*. He forbade slaves to be made Clerks, and amongst some other things made this Decree. *Against the Ordinances of the Fathers, the Authority of this very See cannot make or change any thing. For with us Antiquity flourisheth firmly rooted, to which the Decrees of the Fathers have procured reverence.* If this be true, and the ordinances of the Council of *Nice* quite spoil the Pope of his so large pretended Jurisdiction. Two or three days after his Death two were chosen in his room, *Eulalius* the Archdeacon, and *Boniface* a Priest. *Symmachus* being at this time Prefect of the City, gave notice of the Schism to *Honorius* the Emperor, to whom he also signified that *Eulalius* was most legally chosen, and *Boniface* was the true and rightful Bishop of *Rome*. But *Boniface* his Friends pleaded for him on the other side, and Letters were so multiplied, that *Honorius* thought fit to summon them both to *Ravenna* on the fifteenth of *January*, whereas *Zozimus* died on the twenty sixth of *December*. The Emperor caused also many Bishops to meet together for decision of the Controversie, but such factions, heats and contentions appeared, that it was impossible to reconcile the difference, whereupon *Honorius* commanded them both to forbear the City. Yet notwithstanding *Eulalius* attempted to celebrate the Feast of *Easter* (which this year fell upon the thirtieth of *March*) and raised such a Sedition that scarcely could be expelled by *Symmachus* the Prefect, whose Person had been brought into extreme danger. *Symmachus* sending a Relation of these things to the Emperor, he writes back to him to bring *Boniface* into the City, and there establish him in the Chair as the true and undoubted Roman Bishop, *Eulalius* being sentenced incapable of the Office by the Emperor and a Synod on the seventh of *April*.

92. This same year being the four hundred and nineteenth of our Saviour, *Marcellinus* many Cities and Towns of *Palestine* are said to have been overthrown by Earthquakes, and he himself to have appeared over Mount *Oliver* near to *Jerusalem* in a Cloud, upon fight and hearing whereof, many Pagan Nations were converted to the Truth. This year also *Crispianus* the Novatian Bishop died at *Constantinople*, after he had governed such Congregations as were subject to his discipline seven years, to whom *Paul* succeeded, of whom *Socrates* relates such an Act as he thinks worthy to be engraven in Marble, and to remain to all Posterity; the thing was this: A certain Jew feigning a desire to become a Christian, was often Baptized, and by that means got much Money. After he had consumed several Sacks of the *Arians* and *Macedonians*, he comes to *Paul*, from whose Hands he beseeches him he may receive the Holy Sacrament of Baptism, who granteth his request on these conditions, that he learned the Articles of Faith, and gave himself to Fasting for many days. The Jew being constrained to Fast, called every day for Baptism, and *Paul* moved by his importunity, made all things ready for it, providing him a white Vestment, and causing the Font to be filled with Water. But when the Jew approached, all the Water by a secret operation was suddenly dried up; at which amazed, they yet thought it might possibly run through the hole at the bottom of the Font through which they were wont to let it go, and therefore stopped all the holes and chinks, and poured in fresh Water: yet when the Jew was brought the second time, and hanged his Head over the Font, the Water again vanished every drop, which *Paul* the Bishop beholding, told the Man that he horribly dissembled, or had been unwittingly Baptized; but when upon the noise of the Miracle many flocked unto the place, one among the rest happened to know the Jew, and so the truth came to light.

93. At this time a great Persecution raged in *Perfia* against the Christians of that Country: the occasion this. *Arcadius* the Emperor before his Death made *Isdegerdes* the *Perfian* King, Tutor or Guardian to his Son *Theodosius*, which business caused many Embassies to be made to and fro, wherein on the Roman side part amongst others was *Maruthas* a Bishop of *Mesopotamia* employed, by whose Picty and Industry the Villanies and Impostures of the *Magi* being discovered, Christian Religion was much propagated, and the King almost persuaded to become a Christian. But after his death the Friendship betwixt the *Romans* and that Crown was broken, and a great Persecution ensued under his Son, as *Socrates* writes, others say it began under *Isdegerdes* himself, and *Vararanes*, *Bararanes* or *Goravanes* his Son continued it; under whomsoever it began, the imprudent King of *Andas* a Bishop in *Perfia* first kindled the flame which devoured so many Martyrs. He caused to be demolished the *Pyraum* or Temple dedicated to Fire, which as their God was held in great reverence by that Nation, and refused to repair it though commanded by the King, who putting him to Death, gave order that

Upon the death of Zozimus a dispute arose 'twixt Eulalius and Boniface for the See.

Which is decided on behalf of Boniface by the Emperor's order.

A Persecution against the Christians in Perfia.

that the Churches of Christians should be demolished, and then most cruelly raged for several years against the Professours of the true Religion. Many are the kinds of Torments which the Faithfull underwent in this fiery trial. Of some they flay'd the Hands, others the Backs; from others they pulled the skin over their Ears down to their Shoulders. Some thus devoted of their natural Covering they tormented by sharp Reeds stuck into their flesh. Many they shut up in pits, and put therein Rats and Mice to devour them alive, having bound them so as they could neither with their Hands or Feet defend themselves. Notwithstanding all that Devils and the *Magi* their Instruments could invent, yet were the Faithfull so far from being terrified, that as in the most Primitive times, they rather offered themselves and ran to meet the Crown of Martyrdom. Of these *Hormida* and *Saene* were eminent Courtiers, together with *James*, who by the King's perswasion first renounced his Religion, but was again reduced by his Wife and Mother, and stoutly confessing his Faith in his Saviour, had by the angry King's order all his Limbs cut from his Body, of which the Trunk and Head only remaining; when by these Torments he could not be forced to renounce his Religion, this was at last smitten off with a Sword.

94. *Marcellinus* in his Chronicon fixeth the beginning of this Persecution in the ninth Consulship of *Theodosius Augustus*, and the third of *Constantius Cæsar*, which *Socrates* will have continued for two years till the thirteenth of *Honorius* and the tenth of *Theodosius*, but *Theodoret* prolongeth to no less than thirty. At length certain Christians escaping out of *Perfia*, related to the *Romans* the miserable and afflicted estate of the Churches, and imploring their aid and assistance, *Theodosius* very readily closed with their Request, and when the *Perfian* demanded his Emissaries, answer was made, that he was resolved to try the utmost rather than sully his Christian Brethren to be so cruelly intreated. The *Perfians* taking this in evil part seize as many *Romans* as they can, whom they condemn to the Mines, and on the Goods of Merchants contrary to all former Treaties. *Theodosius* therefore sends his Forces to invade them, who hired a vast number of *Saracens* to assist them; but the *Saracens* seized with a Panick fear slew one another and fled, and the *Perfians* being overthrown in several Engagements, these Select Troops, called *Immortal*, miserably perished. *Theodosius* though he had good advantage, and might have prosecuted the Victory, yet for the sake of the Churches made Peace, and the Persecution ceased. To the Story of this War belong *Sacris* to assist them; but the *Saracens* seized with a Panick fear slew one another and fled, and the *Perfians* being overthrown in several Engagements, these Select Troops, called *Immortal*, miserably perished. *Theodosius* though he had good advantage, and might have prosecuted the Victory, yet for the sake of the Churches made Peace, and the Persecution ceased. To the Story of this War belong

Which is brought by the interpretation of Theodosius.

And the Charity of Acacius Bishop of Amida.

95. At the same time that this Persecution began to rage in *Perfia*, viz. the CCCCXX year of our Lord, that great and famous Light of the Church *St. Hierome* departed this Life at *Bethlehem* on the last day of *September*, and was there buried. Concerning his Age, which certainly was great, there is no small difference amongst Writers; some will have him to live ninety eight years, *Prosper* ninety one, but *Bonarius* more probably no more than seventy eight. For Learning he rather excelled than equalled any one Father. The Books he wrote were very numerous yet not all extant as appears in several mentioned

St. Hierome dies.

Marcell.

His Works.

by (a) *Castiodorus*, (b) *St. Augustine* and (c) himself. To those that are extant many Supposititious have been added, which have been detected by *Marianus* ^{(a) *Iust. diu. l. 1. c. 2. 3.*} *Viſſerius*, *Eraſmus*, *Sixtus Senenſis* and others. And as many have been feigned as written by him, so others as to him, amongst which are notorious those from him to *Chromatius* and *Heliodorus*, and from them to him. His Epistle to these two Bishops concerning the Nativity of our Saviour, hath been often branded in the Roman Schools, as by *Melchior Canus*, *Molanus* and *Sixtus Senenſis*, who affirm it a Fiction of the *Valentinian* and *Gnostick* Heretics; yet *Chriſtophorus à Caltra* a Spanish Jesuite in his *Deipara Hystoria*, undertakes the protection and defence of that impious Imposture. And both from this and the *Protevangelium Jacobi* (which as *Bellarmin* confesseth, was never received and acknowledged in the Church, and is rejected and condemned by à *Castro* himself) both Lying Fabulous Legends, wherein is much stuff to be found concerning the Blessed Virgin and her Parents, *Damaſcene*, *Germanus*, *Nicephorus*, *Sergius of Heliopolis*, *Andrew Hierosolymitanus*, *Hippolytus* with other *Etonian* and *Rhapsodists*, have borrowed Materials with very poor judgment and discretion, and therewith imbellished their Legends, Histories, Homilies and Panegyric Harangues. And after them (saith our Bishop *Montague*) *Baronius* comes in the Rere, who more than once lays his Judgment at Stake upon the Relation of such forged Fepperies, which he takes up by Retail upon their Word and Credit, without examining what authority they had to relate them.

In particular his Translation of the Holy Scriptures.

96. But, amongst all the Works of *St. Hierome*, he deserved more of the Church by none than his Translations of the Holy Scriptures. For though they were translated into the Languages of (a) many Nations, yet the Fountains of these Translations had not been too pure, and so various, as well as corrupt, were those in the Latine Tongue especially, that they could hardly be (b) numbered, all being taken from the Greek Interpreters, not the Hebrew Text. The first Translation of this Text, as is known almost to every Man, was that of the LXXII through procurement of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, called in the round Number the *Septuagint*, being in such esteem in the Christian Church, that (c) *Epiphanius* holds them for no less than Prophets, and (d) *Iustinian* the Emperor enjoying the Jews his Subjects to use especially the Translation of the Seventy, gives this reason, that this number of Interpreters was as it were enlightened with Divine Grace. Yet as men they sometimes stumbled, in some places adding, and in others taking away, which made the Apostles leave them often when they left the Hebrew, and to deliver the sense thereof according to the truth as the Spirit directed them. In conclusion, this Translation not contenting, no not those of the Jews, *Aquila* a Proselyte fell in hand with a new Translation in the time of *Adrian* the Emperor. After him *Symmachus* a Samaritan an Ebionite made a third attempt. *Theodotion* an Ephesian and a Marcionite a fourth under *Commodus*. A fifth Edition was made by an uncertain Translator found in the seventh year of *Antoninus Caracalla* in *Jericho*, hidden in a Tub together with other Hebrew and Greek Books. A sixth was also made by an uncertain hand, and found as the former in Barrels at *Nicopolis* in the East, or the *Allican* Shoar in the Reign of *Alexander Severus*. These Translations coming into the hands of *Origen*, he took care that the Bible should be written out in this manner. To the Hebrew Text placed in one Column he adjoined another Column of Hebrew but written in Greek Letters and Characters, that it might be read by *Grecians*; to these two Columns he added four other, viz. those of *Aquila*, the *Septuagint*, *Symmachus* and *Theodotion*, placing that of the *Septuagint* in the middle, as *Epiphanius* thinks for its excellency, and called this Edition the *Hexapla*; to which afterwards adding the fifth and sixth anonymous Translations formerly mentioned, he called the second Edition the *Oſtapa*. Now from all these bad Greek, many Translations had also been made in Latine, as we said before, and so had that it provoked *Hierome* to make a new one. For as the *Septuagint* it self was imperfect, the rest could not be exceedingly good, *Aquila*, *Symmachus* and *Theodotion* being Judaizing Heretics, as he * termeth them, in particular *Aquila*, whose Translation was the best, and is only allowed by *Iuſt. Joh. w. an* to the Jews next after the *Septuagint*, of a Greek first became a Christian, then giving himself more than was meet to curious Questions of Astronomy, being

(a) Multarum gentium linguæ Scripturae translatæ doctæ fassa esse que addita sunt, Et Hieronymus prof. in 4 Evang.

(b) Latini Interpretes nullo modo numerari possunt. Aug.

(c) Vide eund. de ponderibus & mensuris.

(d) Sacrorum librorum traditionem fecerunt antiquam prophetia gratia circumfulgente, ex Nov. 4. cap. 1. ad quam vide que notantur per Interp.

Vide Epiphani. disto loco.

being cast out by the Church he betook himself to the Jews, and that he might endamage the cause of Christians endeavoured to corrupt the Translation of the Seventy, and such places of Scripture as bear manifest Testimony unto Christ. Therefore *St. Hierome* set upon the Work and made a Translation out of the Fountains. For as he himself + affirmeth to *Lucinius Batiscus* and *Gratian* from * *U. veterum* him in his Decree, as the credit of the old Books (of the Old Testament) is to be tried by the Hebrew Volumes; so those of the New by the Greek Tongue. Of the Vulgar and other Latine Translations we shall speak in due time and place.

desiderat. Dist. 9. c. 6. U. veterum & Hieron. ad Lucinium Batiscum. Ep. 28.

97. The following year which was the 421 of our Lord, in the Consulship of *Eustathius* and *Agricola*, an Edict was published by *Theodosius* the Emperor directed to *Philip* the *Præfatus Prætorio* of *Illyricum*, for removing of Innovations, observance and vigorous Execution of the Ancient Ecclesiastical Canons through all the Provinces of that Country; that if any doubtful matter arose it should be determined in a Synod not without the Cognisance of the most Reverend Bishop of Constantinople, which City enjoyed the Prerogative of old Rome. *Baronius* the Champion of old Rome mightily quarrels with this Law, as publishing false Doctrine through the suggestion of *Atticus* the Bishop of the New, who for the advancement of his See feigned Canons so Ancient that indeed they never had any beginning. He not only questions the being of such Canons, but denies also that by any other Authority than that of the Secular Prince, by Decrees of any Council, the City of Constantinople enjoyed the prerogative of old Rome in matters Ecclesiastical. As to the business of *Illyricum*, he both affirms this See never to have had any Jurisdiction over it before this time, nor for many years after enjoyed any. But if *Atticus* his concern for his own See so far Transported him as to impose upon the credulity of the Emperor, the Cardinal's zeal for that of Rome, sometimes also bribes his Understanding to cast Mists before the Eyes of his Incautious Readers, which he may do at a cheaper rate than *Atticus* surely could in Matters of such Consequence abuse his Prince. Had any such Canons been made for the Interest of the Roman Church, he would have told us that such they were, but they are lost, for the Council of *Nice* doubtless made more than those twenty which are commonly ascribed to it; that the Canon of *Sardica* cannot be found, which, doubtless, once had a being, because several Popes did not fear to cite it to the African Fathers in behalf of their Right to receive Appeals; that an Edict of the Emperor was a thing more solemn than to be founded upon light Surmises, Lies, and Fallhood; that many things were which do not at this distance appear to us; that if no credit be to be given to Authentick Laws, there is no heed to be taken of any publick Monuments; in conclusion, that *Atticus* never would have dared to broach such a thing which he knew could not be concealed, but coming to the Ears must needs open the Mouths of his Emulatours, especially those in Italy.

98. Whether the Cardinal tell true, when he writes, that the City of Constantinople at this time did not enjoy any Prerogative of Old Rome by virtue of the Canons of any Synod, let the Reader judge by what we have said at the beginning of this Chapter concerning the Constantinopolitan Council. As great heed is to be taken of what Reflexions he makes upon a business which happened the year following. *Patroclus* a certain Bishop by the favour and assistance of *Constantinus the Master Militum*, with whom he was very familiar, having displaced *Heracles* a good man and Disciple of *St. Martin*, had thrust himself into the See of *Arles*, and not therewith content had invaded the Rights of another Metropolis, ordaining a Bishop in the Province of *Narbonne*. *Boniface* the Bishop of *Rome* not only repressed this Insolency, but by Letters dated on the 28 of January to *Hilarus* Bishop of *Narbonne*, commands him to use the Right of Metropolitans, to consider what was to be done, and make Report thereof to the Apostolick See, ordaining that every Metropolitans should content himself with the Exercise of Jurisdiction within his own Precincts, and not thrust his Sickle into the Corn of another man. Thus the good Mother desires that her Daughter may be more wife and virtuous than her self, and the Dissolute Preacher cries, *Doe as I say*,

Omni innovatione cessante veritatem & canones pristinos Ecclesiasticos qui usque nunc servati sunt, etiam per omnes Illyricas Provincias servari precipimus: ut siquid dubitatis emerſit, id opteas (non alijs scientia viri Reverendissimi sacrosanctæ Legi digneſſimi Ecclesiæ ubi Constantinopolitane que Roma vetustis prerogative letatur) correntis sacerdotali sanctique iudicio referatur. D. Præf. lib. Iul. Eustathii & Agricola Cons.

Cod. 3. Jim. lib. I. Tit. 2. §. 6. de Sacramentis Ecclesiæ, & C. I. Episcopi & Clerici. l. 46.

Patroclus thrust himself into the See of Arles. And ordains a Bishop in the Province of Narbonne.

Which is taken notice of by Boniface who preaches contrary to his own Practice.

Prof. in Chron. Bonif. Ep. 2.

say, but do not as I do. He writes this at the same time as he endeavoured by all means to intrude into the Affairs of *Africa*, and challenged the Privilege of Appeals upon pretence of a *Nicene* Canon, which the Bishops rejecting as forged, had sent to *Alexandria* for authentick Copies, which this same year were sent by the Patriarch of that See. As for what he ordains about the Metropolitan he tells him, heads according to the Prefcript of the *Nicene* Canons, the sixth indeed of that Council taking care of the Jurisdiction of the Metropolitans. Whence *Baronius* will persuade his Reader, that he most manifestly sees that the *Nicene* Council so took order for having the several Provinces subject to Metropolitans, that yet the Apostolical See as he calls it, should *ius dicere* or exercise Jurisdiction over all. Certainly his Reader cannot but see most manifestly that this is a mighty Consequence, let him then where any yet see, any such *provisio* or *salvo* is made by any true Canon of that Council. He will find it perhaps written on the back side of that other Canon concerning his Popes Jurisdiction over the *African* Churches. It is certainly a course so weak as any one may most manifestly discern it, to argue from pretence to true Title, from intrusion to rightfull and just possession; which would have notably served the design of *Petrus*. It seems because *Boniface* and his Fellows thrust their Sickles into the Corn of the *Africans* and *Galls*, therefore they had a Right to reap their Harvest, and in truth the one aswell as the other by permission (nay Ordination of the *Nicene* Canons.

99. The ensuing year *Theodosius* the Emperor set forth several Edicts against *Hetericks*, *Jews* and *Pagans*, yet to be seen in his own Code. As to the latter *Theodosius* tells us, that he commanded all footstools of their Superstition to be removed, that nothing might remain to the observance of future times, and indeed two years after by a Rescript he forbade all Pagan Worship upon pain of Death, commanding all their Temples, Chapels and Oratories, if any remained, to be demolished and expiated, by placing there the sign of Christian Religion; which Edicts had not the wished effects, as appears from others published long after by *Martianus* and *Valentinian*, *Leo* and *Amberius*, to be mentioned in their proper places. This same year which was the last of *Honorius* the Emperor, died *Boniface* Bishop of *Rome* on the 25th of October, after he had governed five years all but two Months and three Days, and was buried in the *Via Salaria* near the Body of St. *Felicity* the Martyr. *Platina* tells us of great matters ordained by him: viz. That a Woman or Nun should not touch the Sacred *Falls* or Stuplice, nor the Frankincense: That no Slave or Indebted Person should be received into the Clergy. He built an Oratory in the Cemetery of St. *Felicity*, and adorned her Sepulchre with Marble, gave a Silver Platter of twenty Pounds, a great Cup to the value of ten, three Silver Crowns, and of the lesser sort of Chalice two. Under his Name are extant three Epistles. One to the Emperor *Honorius*, wherein having mightily applauded the Vertues of that Prince, he prays him to preserve the Peace of the Church of *Rome* against ambitious and factious Persons; to which the Emperor answered, that his pleasure was, and hereby declared it to be, that if in a Schism two chanced to be elected, neither of them should hold, but a third Person freely and Legitimately chosen. His second is directed against one *Maximus* a Bishop and a *Manichee*, accused of Impiety, Murder and Contumacy, against whom he orders the Bishops of *Gall* to proceed, whether he appeared or not; concluding, that whatsoever they resolved was necessarily to be confirmed by his Authority, so cunningly ambitious were the *Roman* Prelates at this time, that if any Church out of respect to the Dignity of their See or Ability of their Persons asked them any advice, they would presently pretend to Jurisdiction, this being their slight whereby at first they began to lay the Yoke upon the Provinces. His third third Epistle he wrote to *Hilary* Bishop of *Narbonne*, about the business whereof we have already spoken. Besides these in his Letters, the first Tome of the Councils mentions five other Constitutions. 1. That none should be ordained Priest before "he had completed thirty years of Age, how worthy soever, because Christ began not to Preach until that time. 2. Differences arising amongst Bishops should be decided by the Metropolitan, and if they would not submit to his Award, the Primate should determine the Controversie without Appeal. 3. Whatever had been Consecrated to God be it Man or Beast or any other thing, should remain in the power of Priests, the Offender against this Decree to be Excommunicated as Sacrilegious. 4. Bishops, Priests, and the like Persons, disagreeing amongst themselves, should be Excommunicated till Repentance,

Boniface Bishop of *Rome* died.

His Works.

L. 5. c. 26.
C. Theod. Epist.
C. Cleric. de
Judeis de Pa.
geni.
C. Th. de Pa.
geni. L. ult.

In vita Boni-
facii primi.

Tom. 1. Concil.

tance, and not restored till they had spent as much more time in Penance as they had done in Quarrelling. The 5th requires, That a Bishop removed from his Bishoprick during either to return or depart from the place to which he had been confined, should be thrust into a Monastery in some other Province.

100. In the time of this *Boniface* begun the Seventh Council of *Carthage*, as it is called, or the *African Council*, which it seems continued a long time, the Prelates going and coming as there was occasion. But these *Carthaginian Councils* are strangely confounded one with another, and probably the sixth and seventh were the same. After the death of *Boniface* the *Roman* See was vacant nine days exclusively, and then was chosen and ordained *Calixtus* a *Campanian* by Birth on the fourth of November the first *Feria*, being the forty fifth Bishop of *Rome* according to *Platina*, the forty first after the account of *Prosper*, and the forty third in the Opinion of *Martianus*, so great certainty is there of this Succession so much talked of. Two years after on the tenth of October in the eleventh Consullship of *Theodosius* and the first of *Valentinian* the third, Anno Dom. CCCXXV. died *Atticus* Bishop of *Constantinople*, after he had held that Chair nineteen years and seven months wanting three days. He is commended as a Wife and Religious Governour, extolled for his Bounty to the Poor; wherein he had onely respect to want not to any Party, but chiefly regarded such as were ashamed to beg. Undersanding that certain *Novatians* who differed from the rest in the keeping of *Easter*, had translated the Corpse of *Sabbaitus* out of the life of *Rhodes*, buried it solemnly, and prayed upon his Tomb, he procured in the Night the Body to be removed to another place, which being done they ceased to pay any more honour to his Sepulchre. He was lucky in assigning Names to several things. The *Rode* in the Mouth of the *Euxine* Sea, formerly called *Pajson*, he named, *Medicine*. *Chrysopele*, being a *Rode* at the head of the *Bosphorus* mentioned by *Strabo*, *Nicolaus*, *Damascenus* and *Xenophon*, and assigned for payment of Tribute, in imitation of it he gave to a part of the Suburbs of *Constantinople* the Name of *Argyropole*. *Socrates* magnifies the good opinion he had of *Novatus*, and his kindness to that Sect. He reduced into Communion the *Johannites* or Followers of *Chrysofome*, by receiving his Name into the *Dyspica*, and commanding his Memory to be celebrated at the time of Divine Service, as the manner was of other Holy Bishops deceased. Notwithstanding what *Socrates* writes of his favouring the *Novatians*, he is commended by St. *Augustine* and *Prosper* for his Orthodox Doctrine.

101. After his death there was much stir made about the Election of another Bishop, some being inclined towards *Philip*, others towards *Proclus*, both Priests of that Church, but the generality much desiring the promotion of *Sifinius* a Priest of *Elea* a Church in the Suburbs over against the City, where the Citizens were wont to celebrate the Feast of our Saviour's Ascension. At length the consideration of his Piety and Charity towards the Poor prevailed, and the Laity getting the upper hand he was consecrated on the twenty eighth of February in the twelfth Consullship of *Theodosius*, and the second of *Valentinian*, which *Philip* his Competitor stomaching exceedingly inveighed bitterly against it in an impudent and confused Work he wrote against *Julian* the Emperor, called *The Christian History*. *Proclus* the other Competitor upon the death of the Bishop of *Cyzicum*, was appointed by *Sifinius* to succeed him, but the People hearing of his coming elected one *Dalmatius* a Religious man to govern the Bishoprick, neglecting (saith *Socrates*) the Law and Canon which commandeth that no Bishop be appointed and ordained without the consent and authority of the Bishop of *Constantinople*. They made no account of that Canon, because it commanded, as they thought, that the said Authority should be given to *Atticus* alone. That such a Canon there was the Historian confesseth, who lived about this time; but the People the Laity it seems, which as appears in the story of *Sifinius*, was most prevalent in those Elections, having little skill in the Canons of the Church applied it ignorantly to *Atticus* alone. Now whether any thing here concluseth, that the Bishops of *Constantinople* pretended not to their Jurisdiction from any Canon of an Oecumenical Council, let the Reader judge, for *Baronius* would gladly have him so reason. Because the People furnished that such a Canon onely belonged to *Atticus*, he is ready to swear it, though had the Honour of *Rome* been concerned, the People and Laity must have been scorned and derided, as no Competent Judges in such a case. If it was made for *Atticus* alone he it seems was not ambitious of such a Privilege, old Canons being by the Emperor alledged,

Calixtus succeeds him.

Atticus Bishop of *Constantinople* dies.

Vide ejus Epist. ad Calixtum Episcopum. Sicut apud Secul. 7. c. 25.

Aug. contra Jul. l. 1. Prop. de Hieronymo. Secul. 7. c. 25.

Sifinius succeeds him, who appoints *Proclus* to the See of *Cyzicum*, but is opposed by the Laity who elect *Dalmatius*.

alleged, and as the Cardinal furnizeth at his Suggestion, for his Authority over *Byzantium*. And if we have more reason to believe solemn Laws, than hear-ken unto the Erediccate Opinions, as certainly we have, and consider what Ju-risdiction was exercised by *Chrysostome* over the Bishops of *Asia*, we shall not doubt to extend it to *Cyzicum* and the other Cities of the *Indelef-pont*.

102. This same year *St. Augustine* being in the seventy second year of his Age, on the twenty sixth of September the first *Feast*, in the presence of his Clergy and People thereto consenting, chose *Eradius* one of his Priests, his Coadjutor in the Episcopal Function, and designed him his Successeur. And now, turning over the Books he had written, this year and the next he wrote his *Retradactions*, besides these, at the request of divers, he undertook pieces of several Subjects, as about the Predestination of the Saints, the Good of Perseverance, and others, neither had he yet fully completed his Books of *Civitate Dei*, which the year following were brought to a period after sixteen years, being begun in the year 410. On the twenty fourth of December of the said following year A. D. 427. died *Sifinius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, a man of simple Sanctity and holy Simplicity, as *Marcellinus* calls him, after he had scarcely been Bishop two years, after whose decease it seemed good to the Emperour, because of the ambition of certain Persons to chuse none of that Church (though many put in for *Philip*, and not a few for *Proclus*) but determined with himself to send for a Stranger from *Antioch*. And who should this prove but *Nestorius*, a Man too well known afterward, born at or near *Germanicia* a Town of *Syria*, whence coming to *Antioch* he applied himself to study, but never had any bottom nor laid any solid foundation, contenting himself with superficial endeavours, and never applying himself to the ancient Fathers. But for his voluble Tongue and grave Demeanour he came in credit with the People, and his Name being up at Court, had the hap to be promoted to this high Dignity. Immediately after his Instalment, the Solemnity whereof was performed on the tenth day of April, and the Consulship of *Felix* and *Taurus*, A. D. CCCCXXXVIII. In the hearing of all the People he used such words as these to the Emperour: Give me the Earth purged of Hereticks, and I will repay thee with Heaven in lieu thereof: Assist me in foiling the Hereticks, and I will aid thee in subduing thine Enemies. Though this pleased some Orthodox Persons, yet others soon made a judgment of what he would speedily prove. The *Arians* he persecuted with too great violence, and the *Novatians* evil intreated, if we credit *Socrates*, for no other reason than because *Paul* their Bishop was in great repute for his Zeal and Piety. He much vexed and disquieted such as celebrated the Feast of *Easter* on the fourteenth Moon throughout *Asia*, *Lydia* and *Caria*. The great Zeal he pretended for the Orthodox Faith and suppressing of Hereticks was 'but to colour and sweeten those pernicious Doctrines which he himself intended shortly to broach.

103. About this time *Germanus* Bishop of *Auxerre* in *Gall* (*Episcopus Autisiodorensis*, or *Altoisiodorensis* in Latin) a Diocese of *Lugdunensis* IV. and subject to the Archbishop of *Sens* at the solicitation of the Inhabitants, as is very probable, was primord. Ecclie Britan-nice. sent hither into *Britain* by the French Bishops, to withstand and eradicate (if possible) the Heresie of *Pelagius*, which had taken here aswell as in other places too much root. This *Germanus* was born in the said Town of *Auxerre*, of Noble Parentage, and from the Schools of *Gall* was sent to *Rome* to study, where after he had furnished himself with competent skill in the Laws, he returned and practised them in his own Countrey, where he was honoured with the Magistracy of his Native place, and afterward chosen for his Successeur by *Amar* the Bishop. Being sent on this errand into *Britain*, he had for Companion *Lupus* Bishop of *Troyes* *sur Seine* (a Bishop of the same Province) the Brother of *Vincentius Lir-nensis*, and Husband to *Pimeniola* the Sister of *Hilary Bishop of Arles*, one of such learning and sanctity, that *Sidonius Apollinaris* calls him a Father of Fathers, a Bishop of Bishops, and another *Janus* of that Age; the most cried up Primipalari of the Spiritual Camp, the Rule of Manners, a Pillar of Vertue, and Prince of the Gallican Bishops. Arrived in *Britain*, they foiled the *Pelagian* Doctors in Disputation at the Town now called *St. Albans*, where at this day is standing a small Chapel dedicated to the Honour of *St. German*. Hereby having fetled the doubting, and reclaimed many whom the *Pelagian* Heresie had drawn aside, they converted also many Pagans to the Christian Faith, whom they Baptized at the Solemnity of *Easter* Festival in the River *Alen*. Then did they turn from fighting against Satan to combat with such as were yet enslaved by

Germanus comes over into *Britain* and confounds the *Pelagians*.

Beda. *Germanus* comes over into *Britain* and confounds the *Pelagians*.

Episcopus Tre-
centiensis, &
Triclauius.

Beda. *Germanus* comes over into *Britain* and confounds the *Pelagians*.

him in behalf of those they had set at liberty, their aid having been implored against the Heathenish *Pills* and *Saxons*, towards whom they led their New Converts. *German* chose, as a place of advantage, an hollow Dale, encompassed with Hills, near a Village called at this day *Mold*, by the *British* *Guiderne* in *Plintshire*, where (as a very Learned person tells us) the Field at this present time retains the Name of *Maes Garmon*, or *German's Field*. *Germanus* having placed his Men in Ambush, commanded them upon a signal given to shout *Hallelujah* three times, which being echoed on all sides from the hills made their Enemies believe them twice as many as they really were, with apprehension whereof their Courages fell, and without striking one stroke they betook themselves to their Heels. Of this Victory *Gregory* the Great makes mention in his Comment upon *Job*, upon these words, Can any understand the noise of his Tabernacle? Having performed all this, he is said to have deposited in the Grave of *St. Alban* several Reliques he had brought over with him, and taking along with him some of that Martyr's Dust, returned into *Gall*. Some have reported that he carried over *St. Alban's* Shrine, which Body to *Rome*, whence some hundred of years after *Orto* the Second's Emperour brought it to *Colon*, where yet they say it lies uncorrupted. Yet the Monks of *Ely* have pretended to it, as also those of *Ottomion* or *Ossell* in *Danemark*.

104. About this time lived *Fulgidius* surnamed *Prifcus*, born in this Island of *Britain*, who being very learned in the Christian Doctrine was made Bishop of the Metropolitan Church of *London*, and preached the Gospel throughout the Island. For the clearness of his wit, the excellency of his memory, and integrity of his life he is said to have excelled all the Clergy of this Countrey, and to have written certain Pieces, of which voracious time has deprived us. And about this same time or not long after lived *Nynias* or *Nynna*, by some called *Nynias Pen-dota*, born of the *British* Blood Royal, who when young went to *Rome* to study, and there being instructed by the Clergy of that Church in the Christian Religion, returned into his own Countrey, and spent all his life in painful Preaching to the *Britains* and *Pills*. *Beda* writes, that the Southern *Pills* were by this most Reverend Bishop and Holy Man converted to the Faith, whose Episcopal Seat famous for the Name and Church of *St. Martin* the Bishop (where he with other Saints resteth) the English Nation now obtaineth in the Place, which belonging to the Province of the *Bernicis*, is commonly called, *At White House*, or *Ad Candidam Cafam*, because he there built a Church of Stone, contrary to the *British* Custom. He wrote Meditations on the Psalms, a Book of Sentences of Holy Men, yet extant; the rest of his Works being lost. He is commended for his assiduity in reading the Scriptures, for his singular Charity to the Poor Fatherless and Widows. Some say he was famous for Miracles; he died in a good Old Age. That we may join these matters of *Britain* together, we shall here tell the Reader that *Germanus* had not been long in his own Countrey when the *Pelagian* root of Heresie again beginning to repullulate, the Pious and Orthodox Clergy again desired his return to them, who would not be wanting to so good a work, but crossed the Seas again in company of *Soverus* the Scholar of *Lupus*, who Preached to the inhabitants of *Germania Prima*, and was ordained Bishop of *Tri-ers*. Having repressed the Insolence of the Hereticks, and wrought a Miracle (as *Beda* tells us) upon the Lame Son of *Elafrus*, he returned into *Gall* and died not long after.

105. After the first Journey of *Germanus* into *Britain*, the Year of our Lord CCCCXXIX. was *Palladius* a Deacon of the Roman Church sent by *Celestine* Chronol. Sax-on ad A. D. CCCCXXIX. the Bishop to Preach the Gospel to the *Scots*, who prospering so much in his work that this Nation began to shake off that Pagan and Idolatrous Superstition where-with it had formerly been blinded; he had the Honour to be called the Apostle of the *Scots*. He strenuously also opposed *Pelagianism* in the Island, against which he wrote a Book, besides other Works. Assidant to him in this Pious Work was *Servanus*, born in *Scotland*, of *Scottish* Parents, who was afterward sent to Preach the Gospel to the *Orchades*, of whom he was also called the Apostle. Now he being born of *Scottish* Parents, the Reader must know that many of that Nation had long before this embraced the Christian Faith, the Gospel having been preached and received there in the time of *Vilior* Bishop of *Rome*. Whilst the Gospel thus flourished in the Northern Parts, and the errors of *Pelagius* met with such as discovered their rottenness and danger, the Devil was ready to begin another assault upon the Church, and had already furnished himself with a fresh Champion, for *Nestorius* by this time, warm in his Patriarchal See, began now to vent those Doctrines which for want of fit advantages he had hitherto concealed.

Nynias Vo-nodota a fa-mous Church-man of *Brit-tain*.

Palladius Preaches the Gospel to the *Scots*.

Servanus to the *Orchades*.

Officius ad *Supra* p. 333.

Ch. 36. v. 27.

St. Alban's Shrine.

Gennadius, *Trithemius*, *Baleus*.

Lik. 2. c. 4. *Chronologia* *Saxenica* ad A. D. 559. *Hilary* *Mag-dalug* *Cent.* 5. c. 10.

Beda *l. i. c. 21.*

Idem *ib. c. 13.* *Chronol.* *Sax-on* *ad* *A. D.* *CCCCXXIX.* *Profes* *Scot.* *zom. l. 8. c. 26.* *Nicoph. l. 13.* *Trithemius*, *Baleus* *Hilary* *Magd.* *Cent.* 5. c. 10.

Being

Being of old principled by *Theodorus* Bishop of *Mopsuestia* and *Diodorus* of *Tarsus* he had the luck also to be Nephew of *Paulus Samosatensis*, whose opinions did him no good, though he pretended to be a great Enemy to them, and an earnest Maintainer of the *Nicene* Faith. He broached not his Heresie first himself, but *Anastafius* a Priest whom he had brought with him from *Antioch*, whom he highly esteemed, and used as a Councillour in all his matters. This Priest on a certain time taught publicly in the Church, that none ought to call the Virgin *Mary Theotocos*, or the Mother of God, because she was but a Woman, and of a Woman God could not be born. This raised a marvellous disorder amongst both Laity and Clergy, who had had it of a long time inculcated into them, that Christ was true God, but when they blamed *Anastafius*, and expected he should be called to an account for such Language, *Nestorius* became his Patron, and not only his but the Patron of his Opinion, not mincing at all the matter, but in his Sermons maintaining what he had asserted, that the Blessed Virgin could not be the Mother of God. This put the People besides their Wits. Some said one thing some another, many thought he was of opinion that Christ was but a mere Man, and that he went about to revive the Heresie of *Samatensis* and *Photinus*. Not only disputing there was, as happeneth upon such occasion, but so great were the heats and dissensions, and the Schisms came to such an height, that the summoning of a general Council seemed needfull for deciding the Controversie, and appeasing the minds of Men.

106. But *Nestorius* not contenting himself with publishing his opinions in his own Diocese, divulged them by Books sent into all Places, and *Aegypt* amongst others, where some Monks were intoxicated with this new Doctrine. Hereupon *Cyril* the *Alexandrian* Patriarch bestirred himself, as appears by this Epistle. Yet with caution, for knowing that *Theodosius* the Emperour had been the Promoter of *Nestorius* to that See, at first he sent to *Constantinople* only a Confutation of such Opinions, not naming the broacher of them; at length when all the World began to take notice of them he wrote to himself the Heretick several times, desiring him to beware of such assertions, to which he answered with very great scorn and stomach. *Cyril* seeing there was no good to be done, and having by Letters consulted with *Caelestinus* the Bishop of *Rome*, and others, he resolved to call a Provincial Synod of Bishops to *Alexandria*, wherein the opinion of *Nestorius* was condemned as Heretical, and twelve Anathematisms formed, which were afterwards sent to *Nestorius*, therewith if possible to reclaim him from his Errors. These because directed against his Tenents, discovered what they were to us, and therefore we shall summarily repeat them.

1. "He that shall not confess God to be *Immanuel*, and therefore the Blessed Virgin to be *Theotocos*, *Deipara*, or *Mother of God*, according to the Flesh let him be *Anathema*."
2. "As also such as shall not confess, that the word of God the Father was hypostatically united to the Flesh, and Christ to be one with his own Flesh, viz. both God and Man."
3. "And such as after union distinguish the Hypostases, and conjoin them only in respect of Dignity, Authority or Power, not according to natural Union."
4. "And such as attribute to two Persons or two Hypostases, those words which occur in Evangelical and Apostolical Writings being spoken either by the Holy men concerning Christ, or by Christ concerning himself; and sometimes ascribe them to a Man, considered a part from the Eternal word of God; otherwhiles as appropriate to God and the word of the Father."
5. "Such also as should call the Man Christ *Deifer* or *Theophorus*, and not true God as the only and natural Son of God, inasmuch as the Word being made Flesh, communicates as with Flesh and Blood."
6. "And those who should call the Word of the Father, the God or the Lord of Christ, and not rather confess the same to be God and Man, inasmuch as the word was made Flesh according to the Scriptures."
7. "If any affirmed that Jesus Christ being a mere Man was acted or assisted by God the Word, and should fainthe the Glory of the only begotten, to belong to the Man as another beside the word."
8. "In like manner, if any should affirm that the Man assumed ought to be called with the word of God himself, to be glorified with him, and to be adored with one Person with another (for this Particle *with* necessarily hinteth so much) and with the same adoration, Worship not *Emanuel*, and give one Glory to him, according to that saying that the Word was made Flesh."
9. "Such as should say, that our one Lord Jesus Christ was glorified by the Holy Ghost, as by a Power aliene from himself, and the Virtue he used against

The Heresie
of *Nestorius*
Bishop of *Con-*
stantinople.

Is anathema-
tized in a Pro-
vincial Synod
at *Alexan-*
dria.

"against unclean Spirits, and in working Divine Miracles he had it from him, and that the Spirit was not his own by which he wrought such Miracles."

10. "Seeing we are taught by Scripture, that Christ was the High Priest and Apostle of our Profession, and offered himself for us a sweet Savour, to God the Father, If any shall say that the Word of God himself was not our High Priest and Apostle after he was made Flesh and Man like unto us; but that Man which was born of a Woman, as some other divers from him; Or who shall affirm that he offered a Sacrifice for himself and not for us only, he having no need of an oblation who was void of Sin."
11. "If any confess that the Flesh of our Lord was not quickning, or the proper Flesh of the Word of God himself, but of some other besides him joined with him in Dignity, having Divine Inhabitation alone and not rather quickning, as being made the proper Flesh of the Word, able to quicken all things."
12. "Lastly, if any deny the Word of God to have suffered in the Flesh, been Crucified in the Flesh, tasted of Death in the Flesh, and to have become the First-born from the Dead, in that he is Life, and enlivens all things as God, let him be accursed."

Nestorius ac-
cused *Cyril* as
an Heretick to
the Empe-
rour.

Who sum-
mons an uni-
versal Synod
at *Ephesus*.

St. Augustine
dies.

107. These Anathematisms being brought to *Nestorius*, that he might subscribe them he was so far from doing this, that he not only defended the Doctrine by them condemned, but accused *Cyril* as an Heretick of the Sect of *Apollinarius*, and afterwards drew up twelve Anathematisms against him, to which he sufficiently answered. At present he could not be condemned, so far as he impeached his grand Accuser of the same Crime, nay it was so far from that that vehemently accusing *Cyril* to the Emperour, as a turbulent and ambitious Person, he procured Letters to be written to him, wherein he was chidden and threatened, except he would study Peace and Union with *Nestorius*. *Cyril* nothing herewith terrified, set himself with all Alacrity to write to the Emperour, and his Sisters, and laying before them the dangerous Principles of their Patriarch, desired an universal Council might be called for the full and clear examining of the Truth. *Theodosius* perceiving matters came to that pass, that no Peace could be effected, by his Imperial Letters dated November 20, summons an universal Synod, to meet at *Ephesus* against *Whitsontide*, adding after the Precept that he should not excuse any that failed to be there by that time either to God or Man, so far as such as refused to be present at the sacred Meeting of Bishops could not possibly bear any good Conscience: Not only were the Bishops of the East summoned, but such of the West also as were most eminent, amongst whom *St. Augustine*, who yet e'er the Messenger arrived at *Carthage*, was departed to a place void of all dissension and error. For God had removed this most Reverend and Learned Bishop, this most eminent orthodox Christian, out of the way, left he should either see or feel the Cruelty of the *Arian Vandals*, who had now besieged *Hippo* above two Months. He lived 76 years, whereof 36 he spent in the Episcopal Function. He preached to his last, and prayed in his Church beseeching God either to remove the Siege, give his Flock patience to endure it, and submit to his visit, or take him out of the World to himself. Falling sick of a Fever, he shut himself up, permitting none to come to him, but at such time as the Physicians visited him, or when he must necessarily take some refreshment, spending ten Days in continual Prayers and Tears; for his Judgment was that a good Christian, especially a Priest, ought not to die without some remarkable signs of Repentance and Humiliation.

Vide Baron.
ad An. 430.

Possidius in
ther to remove the Siege,

His Works.

108. As for a Testament he made none, having nothing to dispose or bequeath thereby, nor ever had any intention to enrich his Kindred. His Books and Library he had committed to the Church, there to be preserved for the benefit of Posterity, and concerning his own Works this is very remarkable, that about a year after when the City was taken and set on fire, yet they were wonderfully preserved. Those that were written against *Pelagius* and his Tenents had various reception, not only as the World were inclined to, and against that Heretick; But they were maligned and opposed by several in *Gall*, who pretended to abhor those Errors against which he wrote, and they were as earnestly defended by *Hilary* Bishop of *Arles* and *Prosper* of *Aquitain*. To his Works which are very many, are added many spurious and some doubtful, which have been detected, and branded by *Erasmus* and others. Amongst the former fort is the 14 Homily, *de Nat. Domini*, of which he was not the Author, the Learned *Molanus* with the Divines of *Louvain*, having rejected and censured it to be as it is the Work of an unlearned Novice, yet *Baronius* cites it to prove that *Joseph* was unacquainted with any Matrimonial Act, which is now brought to be the Com-

Ep. Momia.
mon

mon Tenent of the *Roman* Schools. Amongst the Books which he wrote himself, there is one which is not to be read without caution; and that is his Book *de ordine*, from the Authority of which some *Romanists* will prove Stews to be tolerated in a Christian State. But when *Augustine* wrote that Book as our *Jewel* observes, he was not St. *Augustine*. He was yet a young Man, and but a Novice in the Faith, not yet well instructed, not yet baptized in the Name of Christ; himself as yet keeping a Concubine, and living in Whoredom. What matter then if he say in it, take Harlots away from among Men, and ye fill all the Countrey with Ribaldry and Villany. Afterwards fully instructed, Christened and grown older and wiser, he was of another mind as appears from a place in his Book *De Civitate Dei*, * which Work he finished but four years before his Death. As all his Works are large Testimonies of his Learning, Ingenuity and Piety, so that of his Retractions, of his Candour and Humility in an especial manner, wherein of his own accord he confesseth and revoketh his former slips, faults and errors. Long before him *Hippocrates* had done the same. After him *Cardan* and many other great Persons, yet few in comparison of those, who rather against their Consciences plead for, than own and retract their Errors. The Example of those Worthies, every one knows, every one commends rather than Opiniastry; but when it comes to the effect not many practise. The day of the Death of St. *Augustine*, and the Anniversary appointed to be observed to his Memory, was the 28th. of August.

* L. 14. c. 18.
Istam in uita
Scortatorum
terrena civita
tem fecit
corruptissimam.

CHAP. VI.

From the third Oecumenical Council summoned by Theodosius the Second to the City of Ephesus, to the fourth Oecumenical Council summoned by the Emperor Martianus to the City of Chalcedon.

The Space of Twenty Years and about Four Months.

I. THE third Oecumenical Council summoned by Theodosius the Second to the City of Ephesus, assembled at *Whitsonide* or *Pentecost*, in the 24 year of the Reign of that Emperor, the 7 of *Valentinian* the Third, his Colleague, of Old *Rome* the 1184, of the New 101, the third year of the 302 Olympiad, the 14 Indiction, 107 years after the first *Nicene* Synod, 50 after the second Oecumenical Council summoned to *Constantinople*, A.D. 431 *Ancius Bassus* and *Flavius Antiochus* being Consuls.

2. In obedience to the Imperial Edict, the Bishops assembled from the several Churches. *Nestorius* with a great Multitude of People, took his Journey presently after the *Easter* Holy-days. *Cyril* the Patriarch of *Alexandria* came to Ephesus about *Whitsonide*, and the fifth Day after *Pentecost*, *Juvenalis* Bishop of *Jerusalem*. These with others coming in good time, staid for *Jobn* the Patriarch of *Antioch*, who with his suffragan Bishops loitered out of design, lest he should be compelled either to condemn *Nestorius*, or with him to undergo the same censure; after fifteen Days expectation, the Metropolitans that were with him came to Ephesus, and signified to the Fathers, that his presence was not to be expected. Above two hundred Bishops are said to have convened, and all as well Occidentals as Orientals, either themselves or by their Legates, to have been present at this Assembly. Yet the Prelates of *Africa*, hindered by the dreadful devastation made at this time by the *Wandals*, could not be there; neither were in any

*Socrates lib. 7.
cap. 58.
Alia Concilia.*

any Capacity to send any considerable Legation: onely *Capreolus* Primate of *Carthage*, doing as much as in him lay, sent *Basilias* a Deacon of his Church with Letters of excuse to the Synod. Very many Bishops indeed were personally absent, and present onely by their Legates or Agents, as almost all the Western Bishops, and by Name *Celsine* Patriarch of *Rome*, whose Legates came not till the 10th. of July, and the Council had done most of their Work. Some its probable upon other occasions neglected this business, as the Bishops of *Gangra* and *Heraclis* in *Macedonia*, who were not at this Synod. Divers others willingly and obstinately refused to be present at this Holy Synod, as *Nestorius* himself the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, *John* Patriarch of *Antioch* and some forty Bishops, who at the same time while the Holy Council was held in the Church of the Blessed Virgin at Ephesus, held a Conventicle by themselves in an Inn in the same City, as we shall see hereafter. Yet, notwithstanding the personal absence of the first, the negligent of the second, and wilfull absence of the last, and although no Prefbyters at all were therein, not in their own right, this Holy General Council faith of its Synodical Judgment given by those that were present, that it was nothing else but * the common and consenting Judgment of the whole World. For the Council was lawfully called, all were summoned universally, it was free for all to be present, and therefore all the Bishops in the World did either personally, by their Agents express, or else in a tacit and implicit manner, wrap up their Judgment in the synodal Decree made by the Bishops present in the Council, of which *Cyril* was Patron or chief, as well after as before the coming of *Celsine* his Legates to the Synod.

Wherein *Cyril*
Bishop of *Alexandria*
presides.

3. For prevention of Tumults the Emperor sent thither *Candidianus* a Count, and to keep disorderly Persons from the Council, to see that no diffension and private Quarrels might hinder their grave Consultations, with the free and exact discussion of the Causes propounded, and to provide, that every one might assemble and with leisure propound what was needfull, and to have scope to rectify all doubts propounded by others. At the first opening of the Synod *Nestorius* was present, whom *Cyril* when they came to fall upon the business in hand, did vehemently tax, and with other Bishops contended earnestly for Christ's Divinity, affirming him one and the same Son of God, begotten of his Father before all Ages, and in the last times made Man of a Virgin, that he was not one and another, and that the Blessed Virgin ought properly and truly to be called *Quintessence*, or the Mother of God. Hereat *Nestorius* rose up, told them plainly he would not own a God, that grew to Man's Estate by two and three Months and so forth, and that therefore he walled his Hands of their Blood, and thenceforth would come out of their Company. With six other Bishops he straight departed out of the Assembly, and kept himself afterward private with those Men and others, he thought fit for his purpose. And when the Day after, three Bishops were sent by the Council to cite him to appear, and he was called once and again afterward, yet he flatly refused to come to them, using the Messengers contumeliously, and frightening them by the armed Guards he had got about him by his oulty, and frightening them by the armed Guards he had got about him by his great Interest in *Irenaeus* a Count he had brought with him, and *Candidianus*, both whom he had infected with his Heresie. The Synod perceiving how contumaciously he bore himself, resolved to proceed to the Merits of the Cause. They caused to be read the *Nicene* Faith, the Epistles of *Cyril* and *Nestorius*, written upon the Controversie, with another sent from *Celsine* the *Roman* Patriarch. *Theodosius* Bishop of *Ancyra* and *Acacius* of *Melita*, deposed on the blasphemous words they had heard him utter publicly at Ephesus. Other Speeches were alleged, the Testimonies of Scriptures and Fathers for Incarnation of the word, and the Divinity of Christ were cited, all which being done after advised and mature deliberation, the Fathers thereto compelled by the Canons, and an Epistle received from the most Holy Father, and their Colleague the Bishop of the *Roman* Church, with many Tears they came to this Resolution and sentence. He who by him therefore hath been blasphemed, our Lord Jesus Christ hath decreed by the present Holy Synod, that *Nestorius* be deposed from his Episcopal Dignity, and banished from all Society of Priests.

And *Nestorius*
Bishop of *Constantinople*, is
deposed and
banished from
the Society of
Priests.

He with o-
ther Heretical
Bishops joins
in a Conventicle at Ephesus.

4. After the Condemnation of *Nestorius*, about four or five Days, on the 27 of June, came *John* the Patriarch of *Antioch* to Ephesus, with a Company of Bishops and Priests, and railing against *Cyril* for making such haste in censuring *Nestorius*, immediately associated himself with him and his Partisans. Now at the self same time in one and the same City of Ephesus, as one observes were held two several Councils, and Altar erected against Altar, Council against Council, Part;

* Nihil aliud
quod communis
est concors
terrarum orbis
sensu est con-
sensus.
Epist. Concil.
Episc. ad imp.
Tom. 2. At.
Conc. Episc.
Ep. 17.
Tom. 1. At.
Conc. Episc.
cap. 32.
Ut diligenter
prospiciantur.

Necessitate
nobis a Canonibus
et sanctis
Patri collatis
et per nostri
Romane
Ecclesie Episcopi,
Episcopa
impulsa dis-
tinctissime
lactoremus;

Dr. Craken-
thorp.

Patriarch against Patriarch, Bishops against Bishops, and Synodal sentence against Synodal sentence. The one consisted of Holy, Orthodox, and Catholic Bishops, whose President was *Cyril*: the other of Heretical, Factions, and several

(a) deposed Bishops whose President was *John*. The former was held in the Church of the Blessed Virgin, the latter in an (b) Inn or Tavern, a fit place for such as denied Christ to be God. The former proceeded in all Respects orderly and synodically, the latter did all things tumultuously, presumptuously, and against the Canons, supporting themselves by Lies, Calumnies and Slanders. In sum the one was truly an holy, a general, an Oecumenical Council, wherein was the Consent of the whole Catholic Church, the other was nothing else but an heretical, schismatical Conventicle, a Faction or Conspiracy of some thirty or forty Persons unworthy the Name of Bishops, insolently opposing the Holy Council, and the whole Catholic Church, in which Number and Faction besides others, were *John* Bishop of *Antioch*, the Ringleader of the Rout, *Paul* Bishop of *Emesa*, *Theodoret* the Bishop of *Cyprus*, and *Ibas* some three or four years after Bishop of *Edessa*.

Opposing the
Canonical Synod.

And anathematizing them.

Sending their
Calumnies to
the Emperors.

Who being
misinformed
order that
whatever was
done against
Nestorius
should be utterly
void.

5. This notwithstanding, as the Holy Council deposed *Nestorius* for an Heretic, the Conventicle deposed *Cyril* for an Archheretic also, condemning his twelve Chapters as Heretical, which the Council had approved as Orthodox. As the Council excommunicated and anathematized *John*, *Paul*, *Theodoret*, *Ibas*, and all the rest of their Factions Adherents, the Conventicle anathematized *Cyril* and all his Adherents, arrogating to themselves the glorious Name of the Holy *Ephesine* Council, and slandering them that held with *Cyril* as a Conventicle, an unlawful and disorderly Assembly, terming them *Arians*, *Apollinarians* and *Cyrrillians*, as well as those with *Cyril* called themselves, as indeed they were the Holy and Oecumenical Council, and termed *John*, with his Adherents a Faction and heretical Conventicle of *Nestorians*. In fine, as the Council constantly refused to communicate with them, till they consented to the deposing of *Nestorius*, and anathematizing his Heresie, the Conventicle not only refused Communism with *Cyril* and other Catholics, but bound themselves by many solemn Oaths, and that afterward in the presence of the Emperor, that they would never communicate with the *Cyrrillians*, except they would condemn the twelve Chapters of *Cyril*, adding that they would rather die than consent to any one of the twelve Chapters. But though the Fathers of the true and genuine Council, wrote their Encyclical Epistle to all Christians, and continually upon urgent occasion humbly informed the Emperours of their proceedings, sending Letters after Letters, yet either were the Messengers stoppt or their Letters intercepted, so that not the least notice of them came to their Majesties, whereas on the other side the frequent Letters of the Conventicle fraught with Lies and Slanders, had every day access and great applause at Court; for Count *Candidianus*, whom the Emperours made their Deputy and President of the Council, to see all good and Canonical Orders therein observed, so far was faulty to his trust, as being most partial to *Nestorius* and his Heresie, he not only was Privy and assistant to the stopping of the Councils Letters, but by his own dispatches, fencd and confirmed all the Lies which the Conventicle had writ unto the Emperours. Hence it came to pass that the Emperours misinformed, commanded all things done against *Nestorius* and others, as done against Reason and their Command to be revoked, and a new Course taken, telling them that their Majesty could not hold or esteem those things done so disorderly for firm and synodical, nay decreeing, that all thitherto done should be accounted of no force, but utterly void and frustrate.

6. By this means also it came to pass, that the Emperours knowing nothing of the Divisions amongst the Bishops, and how beside the Holy Council there was a factious and schismatical Conventicle of *Nestorians* held in the City, thought *Cyril* & *Nestorius*, had been the Act, Judgment and Sentence of one and the same Council, upon which misinformation they confirmed at first the condemnation of all three. This put the Fathers upon such a shift as this, to send a Letter to *Constantinople* by a faithful Messenger, who to avoid suspicion put on the Habit of a Beggar, and carried the Letter in the hollow of a Cane, which as a staff he had provided for his Journey. As soon as, by this means the Report of the late disorders came to *Constantinople*, the City was much moved, and *Theodosius* at the solicitation of his Sister and other Catholics, commanded certain Bishops of either

(a) Ex quibus alii erant excommunicati propriis sedibus destituti, &c. Synod. Epist. ad Celestinum. Tom. 4. A. B. Epist. Cap. 17.

(b) Johanne in diversis manebat, &c. &que illius Synodo prefente.

Alia Concilia.

But after a full
understanding
how matters
went the Emperours null
the Acts of the
Conventicle,
and add Ba-
nishment to
the deposing
of *Nestorius*.

ther side to appear before him at *Constantinople*, fully to inform him of the truth of all the proceedings; and the truth being accordingly found out after diligent Examination, the Emperours by their Imperial Authority nulled all the Acts of the Conventicle, restored *Cyril* (who at this time wrote a full answer to all that had been objected against him) and *Memnon*, approved the Judgment of the Council against *Nestorius*, adding to his deposition banishment from *Constantinople*. But the Synodal Sentence of deposition against *John*, and the rest of his Associates they suspended for a while, partly to prevent a greater Schism, which *John* by his great interest might procure, but especially in hope that as well he as the Eastern Bishops might in time be brought off, and reduced to Unity with *Cyril* and the Catholic Church, which in the height of their present heat and stomach could not be expected. And thus was the Council at *Ephesus* dissolved, a far greater Rent being by this means left at the end, than had been at the beginning thereof, and so that Malady for which it was called not presently cured but increased. *Nestorius* was permitted to stay as yet in the Monastery of *St. Euprepius* at *Antioch*, to see if he would recant his opinions, but growing more obstinate, was at length after some three or four years banished into the Wilderness of *Oasis*. The Emperor also animadverted upon his Courtiers who had been false to their trust, and done so ill Offices for the *Ephesine* Fathers.

Evangel. L. c. 7.

Several other
Canons.

7. But besides what these Fathers did directly against *Nestorianism* we must not omit certain Canons of this Synod of *Ephesus*, mentioned after a Preface, wherein they signify, that being called together by the Emperour's Edict, above thirty of their Number had separated themselves in behalf of *Nestorius*, and therefore remained excommunicated and deposed. Then follow seven Canons of which this is the Summ, that if any Metropolitan Bishop or Clerk embraced the Heresie of *Nestorius* or *Celestius*, he should be excommunicated and degraded; if a Lay-person he should be excommunicated; And the same to extend against such as produced, wrote or composed any form of Faith, besides that of the *Nicene Council*; As also such Persons as should appear of *Charisius* his opinion who thought not aright of the Humanity of Christ. The eighth Canon was made upon occasion, that the Patriarch of *Antioch*, took upon him to ordain in the Churches of *Cyprus*, which thing being an innovation contrary to Ecclesiastical Constitutions, and the Canons of Holy Fathers, and for that Epidemical Diseases require a greater Remedy, because they are more dangerous than others, therefore the Fathers decree that it be taken for a Rule in all Dioceses and Provinces whatsoever, that no Bishop invade or occupy any Province, which and from the beginning hath not been under his Jurisdiction or that of his Predecessors. If any hath already invaded any such Province and by force made it his own, the Holy Synod commands he do restore it, lest the Canons of the Holy Fathers be neglected, and lest under pretence of Administration of Holy things, the Arrogance of secular Power creep in, and by degrees we imprudently lose that Liberty which our Lord Jesus Christ the Saviour of all Men, by the price of his own Blood hath bestowed upon us. Therefore it pleases the Holy Synod, that the Rights of every Province, which according to the Ancient Custom it hath had from the beginning, be preserved to it pure and unviolable, every Metropolitan having liberty to take Copies of those Acts for his Security. And if any Person shall produce any Sanction contrary to what is here defined, it is the pleasure of all the holy and universal Synod, that it be void and of none effect. That this Canon was made tacitly against the Incroachments

Tom. 2. Epist. Synod. append. l. c. 4. Ep. 18.

of the Roman Patriarch, some do gather not obscurely from the Acts of this Council, it evidently from them appearing, that this Canon prevailed and was of force, notwithstanding the Epistle of *Innocent* the First to *Alexander*, whereby he declared that the *Cyprians* did not carry themselves like faithful Men, except they subjected themselves to the Patriarch of *Antioch*. Yet we see this Canon of this Oecumenical Council, is quite contrary to the Sentence of the Roman Bishop, for it decrees that attempt to have been made upon *Cyprus* by him of *Antioch*, against Ecclesiastical Constitutions and Decrees of the Fathers, and therefore all Sanctions or Epistles in this Case to be utterly null. But besides those Canons (that we may conclude with this Synod) the Fathers made another Constitution against the *Masalian* Heretics, *Euchytes* and *Entheusts* (having in the ninth Session condemned the *Pelagians*) and anathematized a Book of those Heretics, going under the Name of *Alceticus*, which some think near a-kin to the *Alceticus*, reckoned amongst the Works of *Basili*.

8. *Nestorius* being deposed by the Council, that Decree was ratified (a) and established by the Emperor, as well as other matters according (b) to his Promise and their Petition, whereby they (c) earnestly desired his Piety, that he would command that all which was done by this Holy and Oecumenical Council against that Heretic, might stand in force being confirmed by his Royal Assent. For in their proceedings, the Emperor's (d) Letters were their Direction, and as they themselves profess, a Torch to all their Actions, and in all the Affronts and Contumelies they endured from the Conventicle, they betook themselves to him, beseeching him to be Judge betwixt them, and examine their doings. The See of *Constantinople* being therefore void, there (e) arose a difference about the Election of a new Bishop. *Proclus* had in all probability been the Man, but that some in power were his back friends, and pretended that the Canons of the Church forbade any Bishop to be translated from one See to another, which though either ignorantly or maliciously spoken (the Canons for the better Edification of the Church allowing it), and many Examples of these ancient times approving it) yet was of such force, that the People was therewith satisfied and appeased. *Maximianus* then, three Months after the Deposition of *Nestorius* was chosen Patriarch, by function a Priest, who led a Monastical Life, one of that late had purchased a good Name by building at his own Charge Sepulchres, where Godly Men should be interred, but altogether unlearned, and who had determined to lead a quiet Life, free from all Care and Molestation. Thus was the Place of *Nestorius* filled, but the rent and division he had made in the Eastern parts of the World, not yet made up and conjoined. This disturbance of the Church, much disquieted the mind of the Religious Emperor *Theodosius*, who the very next year after the shutting up of the Council, when he thought time and better consideration, to have allayed the heat of the Eastern Bishops, began to solicit that Union which before he had purposed to effect, professing his resolution to be not to desist from this so good a Work, till God should vouchsafe to restore Unity and Peace to his People. To this end he wrote a very religious and pathetic Letter to *John* Patriarch of *Antioch*, by many reasons perswading, and by his Imperial Authority requiring him, and with him the rest of the faction to subscribe to the deposition of *Nestorius*, the anathematizing of his Heresy, and so to imbrace Holy Communion with *Cyril*, and the Catholic Church.

9. *John* and the other Eastern Bishops, upon the Emperor's motion sought to make an Union with *Cyril*, but laboured to effect it by drawing him over to them, and their Heresies, not by passing over to him, and cloving with him according to the Decrees of the late Council. They caused *Acatius*, Bishop of *Berea*, to write to him in all their Names, offering Unity and Concord, but on this condition that he should abolish and condemn whatever he had written against *Nestorianism*, and consequently both his twelve Chapters, the *Ephesine* Decree, and all of that nature. *Cyril* answered with Resolution and Courage, that what he had written was in defence of the Catholic Faith, and therefore he should never recant it, so that this Art failing they attempted to effect the Union by *Paul* Bishop of *Emisa*, whom they sent to *Alexandria* to agitate by word of Mouth, and another Letter, wherein though they were not so violent as in the former, yet they found fault with the *Ephesine* Council. *Cyril* seeing they added as he said Contumelies, who should have asked pardon and recanted, would neither admit of their second Epistle, but when *Paul* earnestly endeavoured to excuse them, affirming upon his Oath, that their purpose was not to exasperate, but clove with him in Charity, he was content to admit this excuse, *Paul* having in Communion to work him off as much as could be, but however to make an Agreement with him consented to anathematize *Nestorius* and his Heresies, to the deposing of him and the Election of *Maximianus* into his place, which when he had subscribed with his own hand, *Cyril* received him into Communion. Now he would have perswaded *Cyril*, that seeing he came in the name of the rest, and had subscribed for them all, and as in the common Person of all the Orientals, that this his subscription might serve for those that were absent, and that requiring no more of them, he would be content with their Letters he brought with him. *Cyril* would by no means hear of this, telling *Paul* his subscription could satisfy only for himself, as for the

(a) Imperator sententia Synodi publicè approbat, Nestorius excommunicatus indicitur. Ati. Conc. Tom. 3. cap. 11. & C. 76. de Hæres. lib. ult.

(b) Ad eum demum à nostris pietate confirmationem expectare. Tom. 3. c. 17.

(c) Ut jubet ea omnia per vestra pietatis munus & consensum confirmare. Ati. Conc. Epistol. Tom. 4. c. 8.

(d) Primo omnium vestrum munus est reverendis pietatis vestre literas quas faciem quondam promissum. Epi. Synod. ad Imp. Tom. 2. Ati. Conc. Epistol. c. 22.

(e) Socrat. l. 7. c. 34. lib. ult. c. 35.

Maximianus chosen Patriarch of *Constantinople*, in the room of *Nestorius*.

Union in the Church promoted by the Emperor *Theodosius*.

Epi. Imp. ad Acatium Beroen. Epistol. Johanni mandavit, &c.

Epi. Cyrilli ad Acatium & Dignianum. Tom. 5. c. 17. 16.

rest they must personally and for themselves subscribe before they could be received into Communion. Hereupon he wrote an orthodox Confession of Faith to the same effect as *Paul* had subscribed, and sent it to *John*, requiring his personal subscription to it.

10. *Paul* returning to *Antioch*, brought this resolute Answer of *Cyril* to *John* and his Bishops there assembled in Synod, who perceiving there was no other way to make an Union, and that *Paul* had both subscribed himself, and promised for them that they should do the like, at length yielded to all *Cyril's* Demands, and for an assurance of their sincerity herein, wrote a Synodal and Encyclical Epistle to *Cyril*, which they likewise sent to *Sixtus* Bishop of *Rome* (for *Cælestine* was *er* this time dead) to *Maximianus* and other Principal Bishops, wherein having first made a found and orthodox confession of their Faith, they give their willing assent and subscription to the deposing of *Nestorius*, and anathematizing of his Heresies. This Letter they prevailed with *Paul* to carry and make a second Journey to *Alexandria*, to conclude a final Peace and Union. At whose coming thither this second time, and bringing with him the undoubted testimony of the orthodox belief of *John*, and the chief of the Eastern Bishops, and that they had now done all which the Emperor and *Cyril* had required, they were welcome received, and the union being perfectly concluded, Peace was restored to the Church. In token whereof *Paul* preached at *Alexandria* in December, and made before *Cyril* and all the People so orthodox a Profession of his Faith, that his Auditors for joy interrupting him four or five times, cried out *Orthodox* *Paul thou art welcome to us*; *Cyril* is Orthodox, *Paul* is Orthodox. And in Congratulation with *John* the *Antiochian* Patriarch and the rest, *Cyril* wrote a notable Epistle, which begins, *Let the Heavens rejoice, and let the Earth be glad*: and publishing this as an Hymn of Joy and Thanksgiving for the Union so happily effected, sung, *Glory to God, and peace amongst Men*. This is the sum of the whole proceedings betwixt *Cyril* and the Eastern Bishops, touching the matter of the union, as to any one who consults the Epistles of *Cyril* to *Acatius* Bishop of *Melitene*, to *Dynamius* and *John*, and compares them with the Epistle of *John*, and that of the Synod of *Antioch* sent to *Cyril* and *Xisus*, will clearly perceive. Yet so impudent were the *Nestorians* as to slander *Cyril* to have at the time of the union consented in all points to them and their Heresies, and to have condemned his former Doctrine with the *Ephesine* Council. For knowing that *John* and the Eastern Bishops had written to *Cyril* so resolutely, that unless he condemned his own Chapters they would not consent to any Peace or Union; and seeing that *Cyril* afterwards and in the same year consented with *John*, and made an union with him; thereupon they took occasion to boast that *Cyril* did it upon the condition required by *John* at the first, which was the condemning of his former Doctrine, wilfully and maliciously concealing both how *Cyril* utterly denied to yield unto them, or to that condition required by them, and how at length *John* and so many of them as were received to Communion consented wholly unto him, and subscribed to the Catholic Faith. All this they not only suppressed, but to colour the matter, forged also a Letter under *Cyril's* name, whom therein they made to consent to the condemnation of his own Doctrine; which Letter *Ibas* in his Epistle inclosed and sent unto *Maris* the Heretic. All these things our Learned Doctor *Craekenthorp* had detected, evinced and confuted, and hath moreover discovered how *Baronius* hath perverted the narration of this union, and strengthened the calumny of the *Nestorians* by his misreporting of the same, and all to serve the great designs of his Pope *Piglitus* his infallibility, and to make him appear orthodox and right in the Faith, but to how little purpose in due time will be discovered.

11. About the time of the celebration of this *Ephesine* Synod, was *Patricius* Bal. Sigebert, sent by *Cælestine* Bishop of *Rome* into *Ireland*, to convert that Island to the Christian Faith. This *Patricius*, it's said, was a *Britain* by Birth, some say, a *Scot*, the Son of *Calphurnius* a Noble Deacon, and of *Conche* the Sister of famous *St. Martin*. Of the Religion of *Calphurnius* was called *Sachar*, or (as *Bale* will have it) *Succet*. Geryon professed in his Baptism he was called *Mangonius*; and *Cælestine* Bishop of *Rome* altered this into *Patricius*. Being instructed by his Uncle *St. Martin* and *St. Germanus*, he went to *Rome*, where for his eminent worth he came to be known to the Bishop, by whom he was sent with some other Assistants to convert the Nation of the *Irish*. Being a Man of great Zeal, Piety and Industry, famous also for Miracles, as those who write his Life too lavishly talk, he brought the whole Island to embrace the Christian Faith, and overawed the Flock which he had converted, some say, about sixty years. This is the famous *St. Patrick* the Apostle, and *Tutelar Saint* of

Which is effected, *John* complying with *Cyril* and the true Orthodox.

St. Patrick by *Cælestine* Bishop of *Rome* sent into *Ireland* to convert the *Irish*.

Who compare of the Irish, who had him in so great esteem whilst yet living, that they compared him with St. Peter himself, as appears by what *Secundinus*, or (as they call him in that Country) St. *Seachlin*, about the year CCCCLXVIII. wrote of him in a certain Hymn: *He is constant in the fear of God, and unmoveable in the Faith, upon whom the Church is builded, as upon Peter; whose Apostleship also he hath obtained from God, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against him.* Christ is there said to have chosen him for his *Picar*. And his See of *Armagh* is by one *Calvus Perennis*, in the days of *Brian King of Ireland*, who was slain in the year of Our Lord M.XIV. termed the See *Apollinick*; as *Desiderius* Bishop of *Calors* the Bishop of *Kildare* in Ireland honoured both *Papa* and *Apollinicus*; and *Sacerdos* and *Summus Pontifex*, with the style of *Summus Eccles. Ar-magh. c. 7. mach. c. 7.* and Prerogatives which the Pope now peculiarly challengeth as Ensigns of his Monarchy, being heretofore usually communicated to other Bishops, when the universal Church was governed in an *Archeological* way.

12. Now a Countryman of our own would make us believe, that *When Ireland first received Christendom, they gave themselves into the Jurisdiction both Spiritual and Temporal of the See of Rome.* But in this respect is told that he speaks without Book, by as Learned a Person in these matters as ever that Country bred, of the Spiritual Jurisdiction untruly, of the Temporal absurdly. For from this first Legation of *Palladius* and *Patrick* (some say *Palladius* first Preached in Ireland) who were first sent to plant the Faith in this Country, it cannot be shewed (saith he) out of any monument of Antiquity, that the Bishop of *Rome* did ever lend any Legates to exercise Spiritual Jurisdiction here (much less any of his Deputies to exercise Temporal Power) before *Gillebertus*, who first (they say) exercised the Legantine Function of the *Apollinick* See, a Contemporary of his words it, even *Bernard* himself in the Life of *Malachias*. We read, moreover (saith he) of sundry Archbishops that have been in this Land betwixt the days of St. *Patrick* and of *Malachias*. What one of them can be named that ever fought for a Pall from *Rome*? *Joceline* indeed, a late Monk of the Abbey of *Furness* writes of St. *Patrick*, that the Bishop of *Rome* conferred the Pall upon him, together with the exercise of Legantine Power. But he is well known to be a most fabulous Author, and for this particular, *Bernard* who was more Ancient, informeth us far otherwise, that from the very Beginning till his time the Metropolitick See of *Armagh* wanted the use of the Pall, with whom the Authors of the *Annals of Mail-rofs* doth fully accord, noting that in the year M.CLI. Pope *Eugenius* (to whom *Bernard* wrote his Books *de Consideratione*) did by his Legate *John Papiro* transmit four Palls into Ireland; whither a Pall had never been brought. Hereupon *Giraldus Cambrensis*, though he acknowledged that St. *Patrick* Did chuse *Armagh* for his Seat, and appointed it to be, as it were, a Metropolitick See, and the Proper place of the Primacy of Ireland; yet withall affirms, that indeed there were no Archbishops in Ireland, but that Bishops consecrated one another till the bringing of four Palls by the said *Papiro*, or *Paparo*, the Pope's Legate. And some of our Chroniclers after him note concerning *Galafius*, then Archbishop of *Armagh*, that *He is said to have been the first Archbishop, because he used the first Pall, and that others before him were Archbishops in Name only, for reverence of St. Patrick as Apostle of that Nation.*

13. The complaint made by *Anselm* in his Letters to *Muriardach* King of Ireland, *Anselm. l. 3. Ep. 142.* that Bishops there were consecrated by Bishops alone, might seem somewhat to justify *Giraldus* his Relation; if we did not find a farther complaint there also, that they were often ordained by one Bishop only. But as this later argueth not the want of a competent number of Bishops in the Land (for they had more than a sufficient number of such) but a neglect of the observance of the *Nicene* Canons there at that time, but that rather the Bishops failed much in the respect they ought to their Metropolitick. For that the Irish had their Archbishops, beside many other pregnant testimonies that might be produced, Pope *Hildebrand's* own Brief sufficiently manifests, directed to *Terdelachus* (or *Tirlagh*) the illustrious King of Ireland, the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Nobles, and all Christians inhabiting Ireland. And for the Archbishops of *Armagh*, it appears most evidently from *Bernard* in the Life of *Malachias*, that they were so far from being Metropolitans and Primates in Name only, that they exercised much greater Authority before they were put to the charge of fetching Palls from *Rome*, than ever they did afterward, and that they not only consecrated Bishops, but erected

also new Bishopsricks and Archbishopsricks too sometimes, according as they saw convenient. *Nemius* writes, that St. *Patrick* founded in Ireland three hundred sixty five Churches, consecrated three hundred sixty five Bishops, and ordained three thousand Presbyters. In process of time, the number of Bishops was daily multiplied, at the pleasure of the Metropolitick (whereof *Bernard* complains) and that not only so far that almost every Church had a several Bishop, but that also in some Towns or Cities were ordained more than one, nay sometimes made without any certain place assigned to them. As for the erecting of New Archbishopsricks, if the Legends may be credited, *King Eugen* and St. *Patrick*, with all the People did ordain, that in the City and See of *Albens* (now *Emelye*, annexed to *Caubell*) should be the Archbishopsrick of the whole Province of *Munster*. In like manner *Brandabb* King of the *Lagenians*, with the consent aforesaid of the Laity as of the Clergy, appointed that in the City of *Fernes* (the See of *Moedy*, otherwise called *Edanus*) should be the Archbishopsrick of all the Province of *Leinster*. But *Bernard's* testimony we have no reason not to believe, relating what was known to be done in his own time: that *Celsus* the Archbishop of *Armagh* had of new constituted another Metropolitick See, but subject to the first See, and the Archbishop thereof. Whereby we may see, faith Archbishop *Ozher*, that in the erection of New Archbishopsricks and Bishopsricks all things were here done at home, without consulting with the See of *Rome* in the matter.

14. Our said Countryman confesseth, that *To the Monarch was granted a Negative in the nomination of Bishops at every Vacacion: the Clergy and Laity of the Diocesse recommending him to the King, the King to the Monarch, the Monarch to the Archbishop of Canterbury*; which last clause is erroneously by him extended to the Bishops of the whole Nation, which properly belonged to the *Ostman* Strangers that possessed the three Cities of *Dublin*, *Waterford* and *Limerick*. But as the Kings and People of this Land (our Author proceeds) in those Elder times kept the nomination of their Archbishops and Bishops in their own Hands, not depending on the Pope's provision that way, so do we not find by any approved Record of Antiquity, that any visitations of the Clergy were held here in the Pope's name, much less that any Indulgences were sought for by our People at his Hands. For as for the Charter of St. *Patrick* (by some intitled, *de Antiquitate Aulonica*) wherein *Phoganus* and *Dervonians* are said to have purchased ten or thirty years of Indulgence from Pope *Eleutherius*, and St. *Patrick* himself to have procured twelve years in his time, from *Celestine* it might justly be demonstrated were this a fit place, a mere figment devised by the Monks of *Glastenbury*. Neither do I well know what credit is to be given to that stragling sentence, which I find ascribed to the same Author: *If any Questions arise in this Island, let them be referred to the See Apollinick*; or to that other Decree attributed to *Auxilius*, *Patrickus*, *Secundinus* and *Benignus*. When any difficult Cause, and unknown to all the Judges of the Scottish Nation shall arise, it is rightly to be referred to the See of the Archbishop of the Irish. (viz. to *Patrick*) and to the examination of the Prelate thereof. But if by him and his Wife Men a Cause of this nature cannot easily be made up: we have decreed, it shall be sent to the See Apollinick; that is to say, to the Chair of the Apostle Peter, which hath the authority of the City of *Rome*. Only this I will say, that as it is most likely that St. *Patrick* had a special regard unto the Church of *Rome*, from whence he was sent for conversion of this Island; so if I may self had lived in his days, for the resolution of a doubtful Question, I should as willingly have listened to the Judgment of the Church of *Rome* as to the determination of any Church in the whole World, so reverend an estimation have I of the Integrity of that Church as it stood in those good days. But that St. *Patrick* was of opinion that the Church of *Rome* was sure ever afterward to continue in that good estate, and that there was a perpetual privilege annexed unto that See, that it should never err in Judgment, or that the Pope's Sentences were always to be held as infallible Oracles; that will I never believe: sure I am that my Countrymen after him were of another Belief, who were so far from submitting themselves in this sort to whatsoever should proceed from the See of *Rome*, that they oftentimes stood out against it, when they had little cause so to do. For proof whereof I need to seek no farther than to those very allegations which have been lately urged for maintenance of the supremacy of the Pope and Church of *Rome* in this Country. Thus much of St. *Patrick*.

15. About the time of this *Ephesine* Synod, died *Paulinus* the famous Bishop of *Nola*. And the year following, April the 6th. *Celestine* the Patriarch of *Rome*, CCCXXIII. after he had born that Office eight years, five months, and three days, and was

Edm. Camp.
Hist. Hibern.
l. 1. c. ult. ad
Ann. 948.

Charr-St. Pa-
tric in Gul-
celm. Malmeb.
libelle de An-
tiqu. Clapton.
Ecclesie M. S.
Ver. Collect.
Canon. Bibli-
oth. Cantuar.
Ver. Codex.
Eccles. Ar-
magh.

Paulinus Bi-
shop of Nola
died.

Celstine Patriarch of Rome dies.

Who does many good things.

And is succeeded by Sixtus.

Several Jews deceived by an Impostour.

A Synod held at Rome.

Polychronus Bishop of Jerusalem suspended.

Maximianus Bishop of Constantinople dies.

buried in the Cemetery of *Prifilla*, in the *Via Salaria*. He ordained, that the *Palms of David* should be sung by way of Antiphony before the Communion, which formerly had not been done, the Epistle of *St. Paul* and the Gospel being only read; as also that the Priest at the beginning of the administration of that Sacrament should recite the forty second Psalm, *Judica me Deus*, in which Psalm you must know *David* prays against his Enemies that persecuted him. The *Gradual* also, as it's called, which they sing in the Mass, is attributed to him. Some add, that he caused also to be chanted in the Liturgy or Mass, *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus*. He dedicated the beautiful Church of *Julius*, and to it gave several pieces of Plate, the Catalogue of which, if the Reader think it worth his while, he may find in *Platina*. This Bishop is very much to be commended for his zeal against *Pelagianism*, and *Nestorianism*, for suppressing of which he took great pains and care, for sending *Palladius* and *Patricius* to convert the Northern Nations, as also for the suppressing the *Novatians* at *Rome*, from whom he took their Churches, and constrained *Rufinula* their Bishop to hold private Conventicles. For unto that time (saith *Socrates*) the *Novatians* flourished at *Rome*, enjoyed there many Churches, and had under them great Congregations. To this he adds this note: But then they began to be hated out of measure, whereas the Bishop of *Rome* (no otherwise than the Bishop of *Alexandria*) passing the Bounds of his Priestly Order, presumed now to challenge to himself Secular Power and Authority. Besides his Epistles and the Decrees therein contained, *Gratian* hath four which are hardly worth relating, only one of them inflicts punishment upon the Bishop or Priest that should live with the Woman whose Confession they heard, which Custom, to prevent the like villany, had been formerly abrogated by *Nelarius* of *Constantinople*. There are extant of his two Epistles to the Bishops of *Gall*; one to them of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, and the fragment of another to the *Ephefine* Council. To him succeeded *Xistus* or *Sixtus* of that Name, the third Son of *Sixtus* a *Roman*, April the twenty sixth, the See having been vacant twenty days.

16. About this time many Jews in *Crete* being deceived by an Impostour, who told them he was *Moses*, and was come the second time to conduct them through the Sea to the Land of Promise, cast themselves into the Water. Some perished, others were saved by Fishermen, and the rest convinced of their credulity by the sad example of their Fellows, kept themselves on dry land, and all that remained alive, convinced by such a calamity, renounced Judaism, and embraced the Christian Faith. The year following, a Synod of fifty six Bishops was held in *Rome*; the occasion was, *Sixtus* the Bishop his being accused by *Bassus* and *Marinianus* of having defiled *Chrysoyentes* a Nun: but he was absolved in the presence of *Valentinian* the Emperour, and *Placidia* his Mother. The cause of his absolution some make the speech of an *Exconsul*, who said, that Sentence ought not to be passed against the Bishop of *Rome*; which words *Sixtus* catching at, said, It was indeed in his Power whether or no he would be judged, yet would he not but that the truth should be brought to light. By this seeming Piety and Humility the Emperour was so moved, that he referred the business wholly to *Sixtus*, who now become both Judge and Party, condemned both his Accusers, neither upon their repentance to receive them to favour, when one of them pleaded that Christ teacheth us thus to pray, *Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us*; he replying, that it was also written that the sin against the Holy Ghost should neither be forgiven in this World, nor that which is to come. *Bassus*, as Principal in the slander was Banished, and his estate seized to the use of the Church, three months after which he died, and then the Bishop, as it seems, relenting, caused him to be embalmed, and (as *Platina* tells us) with his own hands Buried him near to *St. Peter* in the Sepulchre of his Ancestours. At this same time *Sixtus* accused *Polychronus* the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, as having for a Reward in Money ordained several Bishops and Ministers, and caused him for some time to be suspended from his Function, being condemned by this *Roman* Synod. It's reported he was angry with him for having once said that it was more fitting the City of *Jerusalem* should obtain the preeminence than *Rome*, being the place where Christ taught and suffered, and where the Holy Ghost was sent down first upon the Disciples. But in a time when *Jerusalem* was Besieged, this Bishop selling his Lands, and distributing the price amongst the Poor, *Sixtus* procured the Emperour to restore him to his Bishoprick.

17. The year following being the Four Hundred Thirty Fourth of Our Lord, the twenty seventh of *Theodosius II.* and the tenth of *Valentinian III.* *Maximianus* the

Platina.

Uspenski.

Lik. 7. c. 11.

Socrat. lib. 7. c. 37.

Tom. Cencil.

Platina Hist. Meropis. Cent. 1. c. 10.

Socrat. lib. 7. cap. 39.

Proculus intrusted the office.

The Books of Nestorius burnt.

His miserable death.

A Persecution in Africa.

The Corpse of Chrysostome translated to Constantinople.

the Patriarch of *Constantinople* deceased; after he had peaceably governed the Church the space of two years and five months in the Consulship of *Aerindus* and *Asperus* on Good Friday, being the twelfth of April, At that time (they are the words of *Socrates*) *Theodosius* the Emperour paid a very wise part. For lest tumult and dissension should again be raised in the Church, without any delay, whilst the Corpse of *Maximianus* was above ground, he procured the Bishops then present to enfold *Proculus* in the Bishop's See. To this end the Letters of *Caelestinus* Bishop of *Rome* were brought unto *Cyril* Bishop of *Alexandria*, unto *John* Bishop of *Antioch*, and *Rufius* Bishop of *Thessalonica*, certifying them that there was no cause to the contrary; but that one either already nominated Bishop of some certain City, or installed in some proper See, might be translated to another Bishoprick. These be the words of *Socrates*, who spends a whole Chapter upon occasion of the repulse formerly given to *Proculus*, on purpose to prove that it was neither against the Canons, nor example of ancient times, for a Bishop to be translated from one See to another, and reciting the pretended Canon, plainly shews it meant no such thing as to inhibit such a removal. Let the Reader then consider how truly *Baronius* affirms that *Socrates* saith this Translation of *Proculus* was made by dispensation of the Bishop of *Rome*, because the Canons forbid such Translations; and concludes from *Sixtus* his interposing his Judgment and Advice to a Right and Jurisdiction. This same year *Vincencius* a Gall by birth, who having past over the prime of his Youth in Secular warfare and business relating to the World; afterwards had betaken himself to a Monastical kind of life in *Leria*, an Island of the *Ionian* Sea, whence he had the Surname of *Lerincensis*, wrote a notable Commentary against all Heretics, for the antiquity and universality of the Catholick Faith, which *Baronius* saith was very accommodate to these times whereof we write, and will be profitable against Innovators in all Ages. This we most readily must admit, out of respect to his great renown of Catholick Doctrine, that famous saying of his, that *We ought to hold fast that which by all, always and in all places hath been believed, this being truly and properly Catholick, as the force of the words and reason is self doth declare, all which it truly and universally comprehendeth.* Observable also is his Opinion, that *The Canon of the Scriptures is over and above sufficient in all respects.* By these Rules let all Innovators be Tried, Abolished or Condemned.

propterea Catholici, quod ipsa vix nominis, variisque declarata, que omnia vere universali ter comprehendit. cap. 3. * Scripserunt Canon. filius sufficit ad omnia facis superius. c. 1.

18. The next year, or the Four Hundred Thirty Fifth of Our Lord, were the Books of *Nestorius*, which he had written in exile, condemned to be burnt by an Edict of *Theodosius*. And when he himself was so far from amendment; that by his tenacious principles he infused venom, and raised commotions wherever he came; the year following he was removed from the Monastery of *Euprepius*, two Furlongs distant from *Antioch*, to *Petra*, a place in the Wilderness of *Osse*. Being afterward (as *Eusebius* tells us) set at liberty by the People called *Blennyms* in *Libya*, and *Theodosius* having by his Edicts ordained he should return, as he wandered from place to place about the farthest Part of *Thebais*, bruising and beating himself to the ground, he had such an end as was agreeable to the life he had formerly led, and thereby shewed himself a second *Aris*. For, as this Author relates, (after a recitation of his complaining Letters to the Governour of *Thebais*) from his *Amanuensis*, when he could not be brought to any reason or humility by all his miseries, but rather spurned against the Authority of the Emperour and his Magistrates, his Tongue was eaten off by Worms, and so by the just Judgment of God he passed, saith he, from bodily to spiritual, from those temporal to eternal punishments. The ensuing year was a great Persecution raised against Orthodox Christians in *Africa* by *Geneserick* the *Arian* King of the *Wandals*, where in *Arcadius*, *Probus*, *Paschius* and *Eucybus*, Noble *Spaniards*, received the Crown of Martyrdom. The next after this being the Four Hundred Thirty Eighth of Our Lord, and the sixteenth Consulship of *Theodosius*, January the twenty eighth, the Corpse of *St. John Chrysostome* was translated from *Comanum* to *Constantinople* five and thirty years after his deposition. The occasion, as *Socrates* tells the story, was a great desire that *Proculus* the Patriarch had to reconcile to the Church such as upon the scandal of his sufferings had separated themselves, whom to oblige he persuaded the Emperour to translate his Body; and with great Pomp and Reverence to place it in the Apostles Church; by which means those that formerly

In ipsa Catholica Ecclesia magis quere curam quod ubique quod ubique quod ubique

id tenemus quod ubique quod ubique quod ubique

id tenemus quod ubique quod ubique quod ubique

id tenemus quod ubique quod ubique quod ubique

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id tenemus quod ubique quod ubique quod ubique

id tenemus quod ubique quod ubique quod ubique

The mirac-
ulous man-
ner of its Trans-
lation.

formerly had separated themselves were reduced to order, and became conformable. Thus is the naked story told by him to whom do assent. * *Theodoret*, *de Mar-*
cellinus the great Menology, their * *Roman Martyrology*, and others, to make his
19. But his Body being (a) translated from *Constantinople* to *Rome*, to make his
Reliques of more value, they have made the manner of his Translation very
miraculous. *Nicephorus* relates the Summ of it, borrowing it, as *Baronius*
(b) doth not obscurely hint, from the Luculent Oration of one *Cosmas*: *Klefi-*
rius. Whether a *Papian* or *Baronian* Author, so ignoble and unworthy, that
Possessive judged him not worthy to be named in his *Bibliotheca*, or reckoned
amongst his *Testes Fidei*. Yet out of this Tailor's Oration (saith our Great
Crackanbop) hath the Cardinal slipt a very pretty Anie, whereof the Summ
is this: *Proculus* making a Panegyricall Oration in praise of *Chrysostome*, the
People were so inflamed with a longing desire after him, that they interrupted
the Bishop, and not suffering him to make an end of his Sermon, cried out with
many Vexiferations, that they would have *Chrysostome* and his Reliques: *Pro-*
culus herewith fore moved, prevailed with the Emperour to send divers Sena-
tours, nay some say an Army with Clerks and Monks to fetch his Body from
Comana, where it was kept in a silver Coffin. Once and again, nay very often
they labour and strive with their whole might and skill to lift up the Coffin,
but all in vain, the sacred Body being no more moveable than a Rock: Of
his therefore they certifie the Emperour, who calling *Proculus* and other holy
Men seriously to advise about the matter, they counsel him to write a Letter
to *Chrysostome*, in way of a Petition, asking him forgiveness for the Sins which
Arcadius his Father had committed against him, and most humbly to beseech him
that he would return to *Constantinople*, and re-assume his See, praying him
withall no longer to afflict them by his absence, being not onely desirous of
his Body, but of his Ashes, yea of his shadow. This the Emperour religiously
performed, writing a Letter or Petition exprest both by *Nicephorus* and *Baro-*
nus, though both the Cardinal and the Tailour *Cosmas* be unwilling to give to
Chrysostome the Title of Patriarch and *Pater Patrum*, which *Nicephorus* as his
due ascribes unto him. The Emperour's Letters were brought to the dead Corpse,
and with great Reverence laid upon the Breast of *Chrysostome*, which done the
next day with ease the Priests took up the Body, and bringing it to *Constanti-*
nople, placed it in the Church of the *Holy Apostles*.
20. Here first, as the Cardinal relateth from *Nicephorus*, the Emperour with
the People made an humble Prayer for his Parents, and more especially intrea-
ted for his Mother, that her Grave which had shaken and been sick of a Palsie,
and made a noise and rattling for thirty five years, might now at length cease;
and the Holy man heard the request and granted it; the Graves Palsie was
cured, so that it shaked no more. After this did *Proculus* place dead *Chrysostome*
in the same See and Episcopal Seat with himself, all the People applauding and
crying, O Father *Chrysostome* receive thy See; then by a Miracle beyond the
Degree of Admiration, the Lips of *Chrysostome* (five and thirty years after he
was laid in his Grave) opened and blessed all the People, saying Peace be unto us
you; and thus both the Patriarch *Proculus*, and the People standing by, testified
his Tailour. Such is the Relation of *Baronius* from *Nicephorus* and *Cosmas* forsooth
the Poets. Not to stand to refute such a lying legend, the Cardinal's Friends may
consult *Tillemontius* their *Carthusian* Monk, and see the Censure he gives of it, and
of *Nicephorus* the onely Author he knew, till *Baronius* pul'd this blind Tale
out of a Corner. Though I believe, saith he, God to be omnipotent, yet I
believe not all which is here written of *Chrysostome*. Let the Reader chuse whe-
ther he will believe it or not, for the Writers of Mens Lives who lived before
Nicephorus (as he writ not till about the year 1328) would not have concealed
or smothered in silence a matter of so great moment. This his Judgment is the
more weighty because there is no Ancient Father (I speak it confidently, saith
our Dr. *Crackanbop*) that hath had more fabulous Writers than *gre. Palladius*
(as he is called) *Leo* and *George* the Writers, or rather Devils of *Chrysostom's*
Acts, his Life and Death. Any one of them dotting after such miraculous Re-
ports, would have painted out this Miracle of Miracles with all the wit and words
they had. That which I onely observe is, the strange, and if you please, mira-
culous lewd dealing of *Baronius*. This Epistle of *Theodosius*, though it was writ-
ten to *Chrysostome* more than thirty years after his Death, the Cardinal ap-
proves, applauds, and for a rare Monument commends it, and all that appen-

* Lib. 5. c. 36.
1 In Circa.
Die 27. Jan.
Die 27. Jan.
(a) Martyrolog.
Rem. Inde
festa Roman
translata est.
(b) Lib. 5. c. 43.
et in Append.
ad Martiril.
Rem.

Theodosius II.
Valentinian III.

On the fifth
Council.

dant fable to all Posterity. Why? It is an excellent story, indeed to persuade
the Adoration of Reliques, Innovation of Saints, Prayers for the Dead and such
like. Had the Epistle of *Theodoret* (hereafter to be mentioned) contained such
stuff, it should have had every way the like applaus from his Cardinalship,
because it wants such matters, and crosteth in very many things the Cardinal's
Annals; oh! it is nothing but a Fiction, and a very forgery of some naughty
Varlet. Thus Dr. *Crackanbop*, upon occasion of Translation of St. *Chry-*
stome's Bones.

21. We have not for many years heard any thing of the Pagans, and their
Superstition, which it might be expected before this time should have dwindled in-
to nothing, Christianity having so long been the owned and legal Religion. But
notwithstanding all former Laws, and the Example aswell as encouragement of
the Emperours, yet did Satan find some holes wherein to creep, and upon occa-
sion shew himself more publicly, as the Comportment of Affairs would permit.
At this time when the distresses of the Western Empire must necessarily afford
greater Liberty to Souldiers, we find that *Cyrus* the Commander of the *Roman*
Army, now when *Carthage* was besieged, was of that superstitious persuasion,
being afterward honoured with the *Præfèship* of the *Prætorium* and the *Con-*
sulship. *Littorius* also who commanded the *Flams*, was addicted to the pre-
dictions of the *Aruspices*, and more than this the Pagans were so bold, as pub-
licly to offer Sacrifices. As this practice grieved the Fathers of the Church,
and drew forth several Pieces declaiming against such impious practices from *Cy-*
ril, *Salvian*, *Chrysologus* and others, to *Theodosius* in the year 439 on the last Day
of January, published an Edict against Pagans, *Samaritians*, *Jews* and *Hereticks*, *Theod. Nov.*
which subjects them to divers pains and forfeitures. And not onely did *Paga-*
nism recover in some measure its dying strength at this time, but the *Arian*
Herefie again became rampant in *Africa*, where a very great Persecution was
raised against the Orthodox Christians, after the taking of *Carthage* by the
Wandals, who were infected with that Venome. *Quod vult Deus*, the Bishop of *Vienne* de per-
pud it leasing Ships and committed to the Mercy of the Sea, which yet by
God's mercy transmitted them to *Naples* in *Campania*. The ordinary Rule was, ei-
ther to quit the Countrey or remain in perpetual slavery; yet this good came of
so great an evil, that Paganism which had endured the shocks of so many Edicts
was quite cast down, and pulled up by the roots at *Carthage*, where they ut-
terly defaced the Temple of Memory, and the *Via Celestis*.

An Edict a-
gainst Pagans,
&c.

The Temple
of Memory,
and the *Via*
Celestis at
Carthage de-
molished.

Folinus Bi-
shop of *Cefe-*
rea dies.

Thalassius suc-
ceeds him.

22. About this time died *Folinus* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, into whose
room the Citizens desiring *Proculus* the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, that another
might be elected, when he mus'd with himself, whom he should assign them
for their Bishop, and on *Saturday* was in the Church for that purpose, all the
Senatours came thither to see whom he would elect, and amongst the rest
Thalassius the *Præfatus* *Prætorio* of *Illyricum*, on whom he pitched, and ordain'd
him Bishop of that See, whereat though the Emperour at first fretted, yet
afterward as *Nicephorus* writes, he confirmed the Election. Here *Socrates* tells
us he will cut off and make an end of his History, consisting of seven Books,
of which the last contains the Ecclesiastical Affairs of two and thirty years,
the whole work comprising those of an hundred and forty, beginning at the first
year of the 271. *Olympiad*, when *Constantine* was proclaimed Emperour, and
ending the second of the three hundred and fifth (more rightly the third of
the three hundred and fourth) and the 17. Consulship of *Theodosius Augustus*.
In his Collections he was not Indigent, though *Eugarius* accuseth him of
Oscitancy, very partial toward the *Novatians*, a Greek by Birth, and born at
Constantinople. To this same year also being the 439 year of our Lord, *Hermias*
Sezomenus of *Salamina* continued his History, as himself affirmeth in his Preface,
which plainly shews much of the latter end of that work to be lost. *Gregory* Lib. 6. Ep. 31.
because in many things he lies, and he too much commends *Theodosius* the Bi-
shop of *Mopsuestia*. *Melchior Canus* tells him his Memory failed him, for they
are *Theodore's* words which he cites for *Sezomenus's*, and *Baronius* answers in his
behalf, that though in such matters as *Gregory* excepts against, he be not to be
received, yet neither to be rejected in other matters, the Cardinal being the
rather of this opinion, because Pope *Gelasius* receiveth him, and accounts him
more worthy of credit than *Eusebius*, as *Plotinus* values him above *Socrates*.
To this may be added from *Canus*, that his Testimony was both cited and ap-
proved

of *Chrysostom's*
labris
apertis ad Ro-
mulum dextis
suis, *Cosmas*
quid Bar. ubi
supra.

Carthusian
post vitan

els, and that what is there related must stand for the words and Doctrine of St. Peter. *Diff. 80. c. 2.*
 I say, yea the Authority of it as of other Decretal Epistles is affirmed every way *c. 5. q. 1.*
 equal to the Canons of *Nice*, of *Chalcedon*, and other holy Councils; nay farther
 what St. *Austin* saith of the very sacred and Canonical Scriptures indubitably *11. Q. 2. c. 2.*
 by the Spirit of God himself, that doth *Gratian* (wretchedly abusing his words) *12. 6. q. 1. c.*
 apply to this and the rest of the Popes Decretal Epistles saying that They are *Diff. 20.*
to be reckoned amongst the Canonical Scriptures, which *Bellarmino* not only de-
 fends in general, but by the Authority of *Rufinus* defends this to be the true E-
 pistle of *Clement* to St. *James*. More particularly the Jesuite *Turrian* to whom
Baronius, *Binius*, *Gretztor* and others refer us for the credit of these Epistles, has
 writ a whole Book in defence of them all, wherein he calls them most holy,
 most true Epistles, most worthy of their Authours (in particular mentioning and
 defending this of *Clement* to *James*) that is Men Apostolick, consecrated by the
 Reverence of the whole World, full of all Gravity, Learning and Sanctity,
 confirmed by the Testimony and use of all Ages; and which is most per-
 tinent to our present purpose, the Jesuite words it thus: *What if in these Epistles*
sometimes we meet with such matters as are not easie to all: must we therefore doubt
of their Authority? by no means.

27. If any Man therefore understand not how the Epistle of *Clement* could be
 written to St. *James* who was dead so long before, such an one according to his
 Doctrine, if a learned, modest and temperate Man must ask of others, and in the
 mean time contain himself within his own bounds, that is, he must as the Jesu-
 it explaineth it, so firmly believe it to be written by *Clement* that he esteems it a
 great sin to doubt thereof. But besides this *Turrian* hath writ a large Chapter
 on purpose to defend this Epistle to be truly *Clement's* though written to *James*
 long after his death, whereas some there were followed by *Baronius*, *Possennius* and
Binius who thought it to be written indeed by *Clement* not unto *James* but to
Simeon his Successour. Against those, he held that it was writ to none but
James, and whereas some would think it madnes to write to one that was dead
 (for who should be carrier of the Letter) especially to write to him as a Govern-
 our in the Church militant and to advise him what he should doe, *Turrian* tells us
 of divers great and weighty reasons why St. *Peter* commanded *Clement*, and
 why *Clement* wrote to a dead Man; and having given very wife and worthy rea-
 sons thereof, one taken from Transfiguration, another from imitation, a third
 from voiding hatred; which he would have incurred had he writ to any alive,
 a fourth to be a Testimony of the Resurrection; and such like; at length he con-
 cludes that no Catholics must doubt of the truth of this Epistle though they see
 no reason why it should be written to a dead Man; and withall that with Men
 who have reason and Judgment, such must assure themselves both that St. *Peter*
 and *Clement* knew reasons for writing to a dead Man. Both the Cardinal there-
 fore and *Binius*, had they been Men of reason and Judgment, and considered this
 tract of *Turrian* to which they refer us, might therein have seen divers reasons
 why *Theodore* might write to *John* though he was dead, they being as forcible
 to defend this Epistle of *Theodore* as to excuse *Clement* for writing to St. *James*.
 But the cause is now altered, the Cardinals Demonstration holding in those things
 alone which displease him, or make for us and against their cause. But if any such
 writing bring, as all the Decretals do, either honour to the *Roman* See, or gain to
 that Court, though they were writ to one that was dead, not seven only but
 seven times seven years before, they shall be honoured as the true and undoubted
 threatenings of the Authours. If any one scruple to yield his assent to this truth
 let him add to this the other Example about *Chrysofome's* bones, the writing
 of a Letter to that Patriarch thirty five years after his death by the Emperor
Theodosius, and he will find it such an one as cuts all the Sinews, yea the hart-
 strings of the Cardinals Demonstration. He must confess it either to be fallacious
 or proclaim the Epistle of Pope *Clement* and the other of *Theodosius* with that
 whole narration to be fictitious, and the Cardinals Annals a Fabulous Legend.

28. The Doctors second answer is that though *John* was dead to whom the
 Epistle was directed, yet that onely proves the Title or inscription to be amiss,
 or that *Theodore* wrote not this Epistle to *John*; it cannot prove (which the
 Cardinal undertook to doe) that the Epistle is forged and not written by *Theo-
 dore*. For that it was truly *Theodore's* own Sermon publicly preached at
Antioch before *Domnus* after the death of *Cyril*, and mentioned in the Synodal
 Acts next after this Epistle, doth clearly manifest the very scope and purpose
 of that Sermon being the same which is expressed in the Epistle. As in the
 Epistle

Col. 5. p. 559.

Epistle *Theodore* declareth his eagerness for defending the Doctrine of *Nestorius*,
 and insulteth over dead *Cyril* as the chief Oppugner of that Heresie, the very same
 eagerness for *Nestorianism*, and love to his Heresies, as also the like joy for *Cyril's*
 death, doth his Sermon express, and that more fully with such Expressions as
 these: *None doth now compell any man to blaspheme, seeing Cyril is dead, Where are*
those who teach that God was Crucified. It was the man Christ and not God who was
crucified. It was the man Jesus that died, and it was God the Word who raised
him from the dead. Now there is no contention (seeing Cyril is dead) the East and
Egypt (that is, allwell those who are under the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, as such
 as are subject to the Patriarch of *Antioch*) *are all under one Toke, or all submit*
themselves to one Faith, viz. Nestorianism. Envy is now dead and all Contention dead
and buried with him. Let now the Theopaschites (that is the Catholics who
raught God to have suffered and died) let them now be quiet. Now who can ima-
gine but that the Epistle which maintains the same Heresie, and insults in the same
triumphing manner at the death of Cyril was written by Theodore when he pub-
lically in a Sermon before a Patriarch uttered the same Matter? Would he forbear
to write that in a Letter which he neither did fear nor forbear to profess openly
in a Sermon, and that in so solemn a place and Assembly? Or was Theodore Or-
thodox, and a lover of Cyril in his Writings before his death (as Baronius alledg-
eth) who was Heretical and so big with Nestorianism after his death, that he
must vent them, and with them digorge his malice and spite in an open Pulpit,
and such an Audience? It is not the Inscription or Title of the Epistle, but the
Epistle it self, which the Fifth Council and we after it stand upon. But that they
knew the Epistle to be Theodore's, they needed not by it to have proved that he
after the Union, yea, after the death of Cyril, was eager, violent, yea, virulent
in defence of the Heresies of Nestorius, his Sermon had been a sufficient demon-
stration of that: But because they were sure this was the true Epistle of Theodore,
they thought good to testify that he was the self same man in writing that he was
in preaching, and in both a malicious Nestorian; that long after the Union made
betwixt John and Cyril, yea after Cyril's death he continued both to write and speak
the same.

29. Next the Doctor observeth the fraudulent dealing of *Baronius* and *Binius*
 in this Cause, who though they carp not at the Sermon, yet deny the Epistle,
 whereas though the Epistle had never been extant, yet the Cardinal's Position for
Theodore's Orthodoxy and Catholick Faith ever after the Union betwixt *John* and
Cyril is clearly and certainly refuted by his Sermon made twelve years after the
 Union. Then whereas the Cardinal strongly urgeth the Epistles, which in their
Vaticane or *Mint-haus*, are stamped with the Name of *Theodore*, to prove his
 Orthodoxy for six and twenty years, this Sermon alone convicts them of fal-
 sehood, wherein he Vomits out in a most Solemn Assembly, together with the
 Blasphemies of *Nestorius*, most slanderous Revilings, not onely against *Cyril*, at
 whose death he insulteth, but against all Catholics, whom after the *Nestorian*
 Language he styles *Theopaschites* and *Heretics*: With such false, feigned and lying
 Writings doth the Cardinal fight against the Fifth Synod and the Acts thereof.
 After this to meet with the Objection which *Baronius* might make against the
 Epistle from the falseness of its Superscription, by many Instances our Authour
 proveth an Epistle may be true, when yet the Title is false and erroneous. As
 1. In the Epistle of *Clement* to *James*, the Inscription whereof, though both he
 and *Binius* confess to be false, yet held the Letter it self to be *Clement's*. Excusing
 it they say it was onely an error in writing *James* instead of *Simeon*, and had
 they not been too malicious against the Fifth Synod, they would as easily have
 said the Epistle is truly his but in the Inscription, in the Acts, the Name of *John*
 is by the Writers mistaken for that of *Domnus*. 2. In *Theodore's* History and the
Venice Edition of the Councils by *Nicholitus* Pope *Damasus* is said to have writ an
 Epistle to *Paulinus* Bishop of *Theffalonica*, whereas it ought to be read, as *Baronius*
 and *Binius* confess, Bishop of *Antioch*. 3. The sixteenth Novel of *Iustinian* is di-
 rected to *Anthimus* Bishop of *Constantinople*, whereas *Menas* at that time gover-
 ned that See. 4. The Epistle of *Felix* the fourth to *Sabina*, was dated on the
 twelfth of the Calends of *November*, at which time *Felix* was dead, whose Name
 as the Cardinal saith might easily creep in for that of *Boniface* his Successour.
 By several other instances not necessary here to be expressed, doth he make the Cardi-
 nal's Exception against this Epistle of *Theodore* very ridiculous.

Ad An. D. 318.
Ad Council, sub
Damasus.

Ad An. 530.

30. And no less ridiculous doth he shew the Cardinal's reasons to be why *John*
 died

A a 2

died before Cyril. He confesseth it true that John did die before him, because of many undoubted testimonies of the Council of Chalcedon, not one of which the Cardinal had the grace to alledge, but his reasons are so weak, and withall so full of fraud and untruth, that the Doctour counts it worthy of consideration to see his blindness and perverseness, even in proving that which is true. He first tells us: *I have shewed this most manifestly that John died seven years before Cyril, by the Epistle which Theodoret wrote to Domnus four years since* (that is four before this year 444) *in the behalf of one Felicianus, whose estate Theodoret recommends to Domnus.* The Doctour observes how egregious a trifter the Cardinal hath shewed himself hereby. For neither in the four hundred and fortieth, nor in any four years either before or after that doth he set down any Epistle of Theodoret's to Domnus in behalf of Felicianus. The Epistle which the Cardinal dreameth of, is in behalf of Celestianus, and that is indeed exprest Ann. 440. where note, I pray, that the Cardinal by a slip either of his own Pen or Memory (as I verily suppose) or of his Scribe, names Felicianus instead of Celestianus. God even by this demonstrating how unjustly he carps at the Synodal Acts, for that very error or slip of a Pen, which the Cardinal himself falls into, even while he for the like slip declaimeth against these Holy Synodal Acts. And yet there's a worse fault in this Reason. For it is no more shewed that John died before Cyril by that Epistle than by Tully's *ad Atticum*. That Epistle having neither date nor any Circumstance to induce that, and may as well be written Ann. 448. as 440. His second Reason is: There are Letters extant of Theodoret to Domnus the year following (Ann. 437.) and that Epistle I will set down in its due place, the next year. Now in the next year, viz. Ann. 437. there is no Epistle of Theodoret set down by the Cardinal, nor is either Domnus or Theodoret so much as named in all his discourse of that year. Is not this now shewed most manifestly; you may be sure he would not have feared to perform his promise, but that there was somewhat in that Epistle which would have betrayed his lewd dealing in this Cause. His third Reason is drawn from the Testimony of Nicephorus, from whom he saith it is certain. No it is sure and certain by Nicephorus that Baroniis is erroneous in this matter, for he accounteth John to have been Bishop of Antioch 18 years, and the Cardinal will allow him no more than 13, now the first year of John cannot possibly be before the year 427, for in that year Theodosius his next Predecessor died, as Baroniis himself proveth. Add now unto these 17 more, and then the death of John will be Ann. 444. which is the self same year wherein Cyril died.

31. But see farther, how the Cardinal is infatuated in this Cause. John (saith he) died Ann. 436. having been Bishop 13 years. John succeeded to Theodorus who died Ann. 427. Say now in truth is not the Cardinal a worthy Arithmetician, who of 427 and 13 can make no more than 436? And is not this a worthy reason to refuse Nicephorus? But this is not all, for Baroniis glossing upon Theodoret's Letter to Dioscorus, which, as he saith, was written Ann. 444. there observes with a Memorandum, that by this Passage of Theodoret, you may see how long Theodosius, John and Domnus, had sitten in the See of Antioch, viz. 26 years in all, from that time that Theodosius was made Bishop unto that year 444, viz. Theodosius 6, John 13, and Domnus 7, untill that year. Theodosius, as Baroniis will assure you was made Bishop Ann. 423. Add now unto these 6 of Theodosius, 13 of John, and 7 of Domnus, and tell me, whether you think the Cardinal had sent his Wits when he could sum those to be just 444. Or will you see the very quintessence of the Cardinal's Wisdom? I will (saith he) set down the next year (viz. Ann. 437.) the very Epistle of Theodoret to Domnus, which was then written unto him, and I will set down in his due place (viz. Ann. 444.) that Epistle of Theodoret to Dioscorus, whereby is shewed, that John was Bishop of Antioch just 13 years. Thus the Cardinal, who by these two Epistles of Theodoret will prove both these. As much in effect as if he had said, I have already proved that John began to be Bishop of Antioch Ann. 427. and this being set down for a certainty; I will now prove by Theodoret's Epistle to Domnus, that John died Ann. 436, that is, in his ninth year; and then I will prove again by Theodoret's Epistle to Dioscorus, that he died in his thirteenth year, and so died not till the year 440. Or, as if he had thus said, I will first prove that mine own Annals are untrue, wherein it is said, that John died in the year 436, which is but the ninth year of John, because he died not, as Theodoret in one Epistle witnesseth, untill his thirteenth year, which is Ann. 440. And then I will prove unto you, that mine own Annals are again untrue, wherein it is said that John was Bishop 13 years, and so died not till Ann. 440. (beginning the first Ann. 427.) because Theodoret in another Epistle witnesseth, that John died

died Ann. 436. Or thus, I will first prove that John was dead Ann. 436, though he was alive Ann. 440, and then I will prove unto you that John was alive Ann. 440, though he was dead Ann. 436. Is not this brave dealing in the Cardinal? Is he not worthy of a Cap and Feather too, that can prove all these, and prove them by Theodoret's Epistles? Or do you not think these to be worthy Epistles of Theodoret, by which such Absurdities, such Impossibilities may be proved?

32. Doth not this alone if there were no other evidence, demonstrate these Epistles of Theodoret to be Counterfeits? If that to Domnus be truly his as Baroniis assures you, whereby John is said to have died Ann. 436, then certainly the other to Dioscorus must needs be a forgery, whereby John is shewed to live Ann. 440. Again if that to Dioscorus be truly his as Baroniis assures you, wherein John is said to live 440, then certainly the other to Domnus must of necessity be a forgery, wherein John is said to be dead Ann. 436. And as either of these two Epistles demonstrate the untruth and forgery of the other, so they both demonstrate the great Vanity of Baroniis, who applauds them both, and who will make good what they both affirm; that is the same Man to be both dead and alive, a Bishop and no Bishop at the self same time; and by these worthy Reasons doth the Cardinal refuse his own witness, Nicephorus, who by giving eighteen years to John, shews plainly that John and Cyril died within one year, which account perhaps gave occasion to the Excriber of the Synodal Acts to thrust in the Name of John, whom upon Nicephorus his account he thought to live after Cyril, whereas in very deed he died something before Cyril. His fourth and last Reason is drawn from a Canonical Epistle of Cyril to Domnus, set down in the additions to Theodore Balsamon, where he concludes it out of doubt that John died, seeing one Cyril writ to his Successor Domnus, yet are there two great doubts in it. The first whether that Epistle be truly Cyril's, what the Cardinal brings being much against it, the Epistle ascribing to great Authority to Domnus, as to put out Bishops and restore them at his pleasure, quite contrary to the Canon of the Council of Antioch, which requires that the Metropolitan doe nothing in such Causes without the advice and consent of the other Bishops of that Province. The other doubt is whether Domnus, to whom this Epistle is written be Domnus Bishop of Antioch, and Successor to John. In removing hereof the Cardinal is much troubled, winding himself divers ways, and concluding that He who had such Authority must needs be some eminent Bishop, and not one of an inferior See, although he might be a Metropolitan, though no Patriarch, and so have inferior Bishops under him.

33. But he adds that, There is no Domnus else, but this Domnus Bishop of Antioch, mentioned either in the Council of Ephesus or Chalcedon, who had such Authority as to depose and restore Bishops ad libitum. But in such lawful manner as Domnus of Antioch might doe it, there were others called by the Name of Domnus mentioned in those very Councils, who might upon just cause, and by due and Canonical proceeding, depose and restore their inferior Bishops. Look but into these Councils, and you will admire both the supine Negligence of the Cardinal in this point, and his most audacious down-facing of the truth; for, to omit others both in the Conventicle of Ephesus, and the Council of Chalcedon, there is often mention of Domnus Bishop of Apamea, a Metropolitan Bishop. And that you may see how fraudulently the Cardinal dealt in this very point, he neither would set down that Epistle, nor acquaint you with that which in Balsamon is expressly noted; that Peter the Bishop, whom that Domnus, to whom Cyril writeth, had deposed, was Alexandrianus Sacerdos, a Bishop of the Patriarchate of Alexandria. Now what had Domnus of Antioch to doe with the Alexandrian Bishops? So clear it is by Balsamon, that this Domnus, to whom Cyril wrote, was not Domnus of Antioch, as the Cardinal I fear against his Knowledge avoucheth. But thus you see all the Reasons the Cardinal bringeth to prove John to be dead seven years before Cyril, not only to be weak and unable to enforce that Conclusion, but also to be full fraught with frauds and untruths. So that if I had not found more found and certain Reasons to persuade this, I could never by the Cardinal's proofs have been induced to think that an Error in the Inscription of Theodoret's Epistle. But seeing upon the undoubted Testimonies in the Council of Chalcedon, it is certain that John died before Cyril, I willingly acknowledge a slip of some Writer in that Inscription, but yet the Epistle itself must be acknowledged to be truly Theodoret's, which is all that the Synod avoucheth, and that which the Cardinal undertook to disprove, but by no one Reason doth offer to prove the same. And even for that Error also in the In-

Council. Antioch. sub Julio I. Can. 9.

Art. 3. Cons. Chalced. p. 75. 6.

scription, I doubt not but those who can have a fight of the Greek and Original, may perhaps some ancient Copies of the Acts of the fifth Council, shall find either no Name at all, or which I rather suppose, that of *Domnus* expressed therein; instead of which, though some ignorant audacious Scriber hath thrust in the Name of *John*; it is not nor ought not to be any Impeachment at all to the Synodal Acts, unless the Cardinal will acknowledge his own Annals to be of no credit, because in them *Paschalis* is written by some such error for *Pelagius*, *John* for *Vigilius*, *Justinus* for *Justinianus*, *Theodorus* for *Theodosius*, *Sexta* for *Quinta*, *Felicianus* for *Celestianus*, and a Number the like in other Causes, most of these slips pertaining to this very Cause of the three Chapters of which we do entreat. Thus Dr. *Crakanthorp* the *Baroniensis*, to whose Arguments nothing can be added, it's pity any thing should be detracted, but that we only write an Institution. In due place we shall again hear of him.

To Cyril of Alexandria succeeded Dioscorus.

Proclus of Constantinople dies. Flavianus succeeds.

Eutyches and his Heresie.

Is condemned in a Synod held at Constantinople.

34. *Cyril* the Patriarch of *Alexandria* was succeeded by *Dioscorus*, of whom we may hear too much hereafter. *Leo* Bishop of *Rome*, in the mean time vigorously prosecuted the *Manichees*, as also *Valentinian* the Emperor, who by an Edict commanded them to be punished as sacrilegious Persons. At this same time *Leo* interposing himself into the Ecclesiastick Affair of *Gall*, was earnestly opposed by *Hilary* the Bishop of *Arles*, a Man very famous in this Generation, who being a Monk of the *Lerinsian* Monastery had for his Merit been promoted to the Archbishoprick of *Arles*. All he could get together he distributed to the Poor, and the better to inable himself to be charitable toiled much at Husbandry and Country-work, yet without neglect of his particular Calling. A year or two following died *Proclus*, Bishop of *Constantinople*, when he had governed that Church something above twelve years, and was succeeded by *Flavianus* a Priest of the same Church. Much about this time were held several Synods in *Spain* against the *Priscillianists*, of which one held at *Toledo* first added that Passage concerning the Holy Ghost to the Creed, Preceding from the Father and the Son, which was not for a long time after received by the Church of *Rome*. The year following *Theodosius* the Emperor to appease the Wrath of God which most appeared at this time in the Desolations and Waitings of several Countries by the Invasion of the barbarous Nations as otherwise, published Laws against Heathens and *Nestorians* commanding the Books of *Porphyry*, and others made against the Writings of *Cyril* to be fought out and burned. But the Devil being driven out of this hold betook himself straight to another Device, and made use herein of the Zeal wherewith Catholics were inflamed against *Nestorianism*, turning it so far into the other Extreme, as out of an extravagant desire to shun *Charybdis* they struck upon *Scylla* and made a change from one Heresie to another. The Ringleader of this Party was one *Eutyches* an Abbat or *Archimandrita*, as the Greeks called it, of *Constantinople*, who so far contended against two Persons in Christ, that he also denied two Natures. At first he said Christ was not Consubstantial with us according to the Flesh, but brought his Body with him from Heaven, afterward he held that the Natures which were before the Union two, and distinct each from other, after the Union became one and the same. According to the former Assertion *Theodore* tells us he revived the Heresie of *Valentinus*, who imagined that the Son of God took nothing from the Virgin, but being made flesh passed only through her Body, *Eutyches* began to publish this Opinion to the World in or about the year of our Lord 448, the Consulship of *Flavius Posthumianus* and *Flavius Zeno*.

35. *Eutyches* his Doctrine being early discovered at *Constantinople*, was condemned by a Synod assembled there by *Flavianus* for that purpose. This same year were two Synods held at *Tyre* and *Berytus* about this Bishop of *Edessa* in *Syria*, who was accused of *Nestorianism*, and as *Baronius* tells us, was thereof acquitted, not only at *Berytus* but also afterward in the General Council of *Chalcedon*, how truly we shall hereafter declare. In the mean time the Friends of *Eutyches* knowing what disreputation the late Synod at *Constantinople* had procured him, laboured by all means to null the Decrees thereof, especially *Chrysaphius* the Eunuch out of a particular Grudge to *Flavianus*, upon whom he studied how to devote all the Odium and Infamy. This *Chrysaphius* at first was much displeased with his advancement to the See of *Constantinople*, and to pick some Quarrel sent him to tell him it was fitting he should present the Emperor with some gift at his promotion. He sent him accordingly some White-Loaves, wherewith the Eunuch being displeased, and pleading for Gold as most worthy of the Prince, the Bishop affirmed he had none but what belonged to the Church, and dedicated to the

Noel. Valentinian. Tit. 2. de Manich.

Profer. Gen.adius. lib.

Niceph. in Chron. 6. Niceph. Cap. 47. Niceph. lib. 14. cap. 47. Niceph. lib. 14. cap. 47.

Abbas Concil.

Libertus Breviar. c. 11. Theod. in hereticis fabulis. Flavian. Ep. inter Leonis. Leo vocat us 11-19. Euseb. lib. 1. c. 3. 4.

Abbas Concil. Chalcid.

Nicoph. lib. 14. cap. 47.

Service of God, and use of the Poor. *Chrysaphius* rather irritated by this resolute Answer studies all ways how to out him of his See, and perceiving he should profit nothing in any such attempt as long as *Pulcheria Augusta* the Sister of *Theodosius* late at the Helm, by false Suggestions he brings her into discredit with *Eudocia* the Empress first, and then with the Emperor himself, and contrives how to develt her of her Imperial Power, and reduce her into a condition no better than that of the Deaconesses of the Church, which being made known to her by *Flavianus*, the of her own accord quitted the Government and retired to a private life. *Chrysaphius* therefore joyns himself with *Eutyches* and *Dioscorus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, the great Patron of this Heretic. *Eutyches* encouraged by his assilience complains that he had not been fairly dealt with in the late Synod of *Constantinople*, that the Acts of it were changed and altered at the pleasure of his Enemies, and all things falsely and disadvantageously recorded and represented on his side. He petitions the Emperor that the Records might be diligently searched and examined.

But appealing to the Emperor.

36. His suit was very easily granted through the interest of *Chrysaphius*, who so far also prevailed in his behalf, that though the Fathers of this new Synod called for examination of this matter opposed it, he procured him a dispensation as to appearance, and the matter to be examined in the presence of his Procurators, which favour yet could not be granted to *Eusebius* Bishop of *Dorylaeum* his Accuser. But by this Assembly of thirty Bishops, who as *Evagrius* writes listed out the doings of *Flavianus*, were the Records found true and confirmed. *Eutyches* to bring *Flavianus* into greater discredit with the Emperor, and all good Men, accused him as a Fautor of *Nestorianism*, whereupon *Theodosius* demanded of him a Confession of his Faith, which inveighing against and anathematizing as well the one as the other Heresie, perceiving he nothing profited by any of these shifts, being advised and governed by *Dioscorus* and *Chrysaphius*, he desires a general Council should be called, whereof *Dioscorus* should be President or Moderator. *Chrysaphius* by the Mediation of the Empress easily obtainteth his suit, openly pretending to clear the difficulty in the Cause of *Eutyches*, but in his mind designing awell the advancement of his opinions, as the depositing and Ruine of *Flavianus*. By his means the Emperor appointed a Council to be held at *Ephesus* by the first of *August* (A.D. 449) over which he commanded *Dioscorus* to preside, and bring with him several Bishops, but *Theodore* of *Cyprus* and *Ibas* Bishop of *Edessa* were forbidden to be present. *Leo* Bishop of *Rome* was also summoned, but not finding it convenient to come himself sent his Legates, who brought with them an Epistle to *Flavianus*, wherein the Heresie of *Eutyches* was condemned, and which *Dioscorus* the President suppressed, not willing it should be read. On the tenth of *August* the Bishops met, to the Number of about 128, besides some that were only present by their Legates. Besides *Dioscorus* the Head of the Faction appeared *Juvencius* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, *Domnus* of *Antioch*, *Stephen* of *Ephesus*, *Flavianus* of *Constantinople*. *Dioscorus* brought a rout of his own Egyptian Bishops, and procured a Military Guard under Command of *Bipidus* and *Eulogius*, moreover a great Company of *Eutychian* Monks, Men clamorous, importune and audacious, gave their attendance at this Synod, which because all things were carried irregularly, unjustly, and by force and violence in latter Ages, hath obtained the Name of the *Ephesine* Latrocinny.

37. *Dioscorus* the Moderator would permit no Clerk to take the Acts of the Synod but one of his own making, yet permitted those of his own faction to take what notes they pleased. At the opening of the Assembly was read the Emperor's Letters, wherein he permitted such as had formerly condemned *Eutyches* in the Synod of *Constantinople* to be present, but with injunction of silence, because their Acts were now to be examined, he also commanded all things to be done according to the prescript of the *Nicene Faith*, and that they would doe their utmost to extirpate all Heresie. They confirmed the *Nicene* Creed, and receiving a Paper from *Eutyches*, wherein he had written his opinion, after it was read, up stands *Dioscorus*, and cries out *Eutyches* his Faith is very good, agreeable to that of the 318 Fathers. *Eutyches* believeth aright, and we profess the same opinion. *Eutyches* encouraged by this Patrocinny, makes a long invective against *Flavianus*, and the late Synod of *Constantinople*, and complains he was much injured by them. The lesser part moved that the Acts of that Synod might be read, but the Legates of *Leo* first required they would hear his Letters, which yet at the instance of *Eutyches* was denied, he being jealous of the Legates, because they had been entertained by *Flavianus*. In short, *Eutyches* was restored,

Libertus in Breviar. c. 11.

Abbas Concil. Chalcid. Euseb. lib. 1. c. 10.

Wherein *Eutyches* is restored, with the Monks of his faction excommunicated justly by *Flavianus*, *Flavianus* and *Eusebius* of *Dorylaeum* were excommunicated, and the former so cruelly handled, that he died shortly after. The Bishops by Threats and Terror of Death and Tortures, were forced to subscribe to this Sentence. *Domnus* Patriarch of *Antioch* having subscribed, afterward recanted, and for that was condemned and deposed. The same measure had *Ibas* Bishop of *Edessa*, *Daniel* of *Carrae*, *Irenaeus* of *Tyre*, and *Aquilinus* of *Biblus*, and *Theodore* of *Cyrrus*, for they ragged awell against those that held the other Extreme, as the Orthodox Bishops. The world was, *Theodosius* the Emperour was so overreached by *Chrysaphius* and others, that he confirmed the Acts of this Prædatorian Assembly by his Imperial Authority, and so this second Oecumenical *Ephesine* Council, as *Baronius* styles it, had an end.

Which is confirmed by *Theodosius* the Emperour.

Theodosius dies.

Martianus chosen Emperour, who punisheth the Sect of *Eutychians*.

Summons a General Council at *Nice* in *Bitunia*.

But removes it to *Chalcedon*.

38. *Leo* the Roman Patriarch certified how things were carried in this Assembly summoned a Provincial Synod, wherein was condemned the Heresie of *Eutyches*, *Alia Conc. Chalced.* which notwithstanding, *Dioscorus* the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, gathering together some of his own Faction and Dependants thundred out the Sentence of Excommunication against *Leo* himself. Not long after *Theodosius* the Emperour died, having as *Nicephorus* writes, given ample Testimony of his Repentance for what he had done in behalf of *Eutyches*, being convinced and perwaded to abandon that Cause by *Pulcheria Augusta* his Sister, who moved with Indignation to see how things were carried, returned from her retirement to the care of the publick, and after her Brother's death procured the Empire to be conferred on *Martianus*. The new Emperour following either his own inclination or the Dictates of his Wife, presently publisheth * an Edict against the *Eutychians*, on whom he commands the punishments to be inflicted which by former Laws had been decreed against other Hereticks, adding banishment out of the Roman Territories. He recalls the Bishops Confessours out of Exile, and cauleth the body of *Flavianus* dead in Banishment to be translated to *Constantinople*. Then doth he consult with *Leo* Bishop of *Rome* eminent for his Orthodox Faith as much as the dignity of his See, and at length resolves to call another General Council, at which he intended to be personally present. *Leo* both in the time of *Theodosius* and now, had a great desire to have such a Synod called in *Italy* as appears by several of his Letters to these two Princes, in which he also desires to be excused that he came not himself, and prays them not to take it ill that he sends his Legates. But that Request being judged unreasonable, *Martianus* by a publick Sanction dated June 22, commands all Bishops to meet at *Nice* in *Bitunia* by the first of September next following. Many Prelates came thither accordingly, and expecting his coming, some days petitioned him, that out of respect to their Age and Infirmities he would give order for opening the Council. He still deferred to doe it, out of the great desire he had to be present himself, for the Invasion made by *Attila* into *Ilyricum* gave him work at *Constantinople*, from which City at length perceiving that he could not be far absent because of this War, he gave order to the Fathers to remove themselves to *Chalcedon*.

* Cod. lib. i. tit. 7. leg. ult. & extat in *Attila Conc. Chalced.* Est qui Catholicorum Ecclesiarum clerici vel Orthodoxae fidei monachi, relicto vero Religionis cultu, apostolica vel Eusebiana heresim & dogmata abominanda sequuti fuerint, omnino penam qua priorum legibus aduersus hereticos constituta sunt, pœnemuraturi & extra ipsum quoque Romanum Imperii solium repositi sunt de Munitibus preedictum legum statuta sententiam. Dat. Cal. Aug. Valentinianus et. vix. & Attiliano Cons.

Tom. 2. Conc. p. 40. 32. 44. &c. Ep. 23. 24. &c.

CHAP. VII.

CHAP. VII.

From the Fourth Oecumenical Council summoned by *Martianus*, the Emperour to the City of *Chalcedon*, to the Deposing of *Augustulus*, and the Ruine of the Western Empire.

The Space of Twenty five Years.

1. THE Fourth General Council summoned by the Emperour *Martianus* to *Chalcedon* a City of *Bitunia*, assembled in the Month of *October* in the second year of the Reign of that Prince, the 27 of *Valentinian* the Third, of *Old Rome* the 1024, of *New Rome* the 122, the fourth Indiction, 127 years after the first *Nicene* Synod, 70 after the second General Council called to *Constantinople*, 20 after the Celebration of the third Oecumenical Synod at *Ephesus*, of the ordinary *Æra* of Christ the 451, *Martianus Augustus* and *Adelphus* being Consuls.

2. From all parts the Bishops assembled to the number of 630, as generally Writers do agree. Here were present as Legates from *Leo* the Roman Patriarch *Paschasius* Bishop of *Lilybæum* in *Sicily*, *Lucentius* of *Afulcum*, with *Buniface* and *Basilus* Priests, and *Julianus* Bishop of *Coa*, *Anatolius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who had succeeded *Flavianus*, here also appeared, as also *Dioscorus* the *Alexandrian* Patriarch, *Juvenalis* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, *Domnus* the late Patriarch of *Antioch*, and *Maximus* who enjoyed his place. The *African* Church and that of the *Saracens* were not wanting to send their Representatives, *Zachary Rhetor* reported that *Nestorius* was summoned to appear, but *Eusebius* contradicted him, telling us it was plain it could not be so, for that *Nestorius* was commanded under pain of being accused, not to shew his face in the Council, which *Eusebius* Bishop of *Berytus* wrote plainly in his Letters to *John* the Bishop and *John* a Priest, touching the Canons of this Council, wherein he useth these words: There came to the Council such as diligently searched for the Relicks of *Nestorius*, and with open mouth they exclaimed against the Council. What Reason or Conscience is there that holy men should be accused? So that the Emperour was greatly incensed against them, and commanded his Guard to set them packing. Wherefore I cannot see (saith *Eusebius*) how *Nestorius* being dead should be called to the Council. Sometimes *Martianus* the Emperour himself with *Pulcheria Augusta* was also present; but because he could not always be present in person, he deputed certain Secular Judges to execute the usual Imperial Prefidency, to see that all things should be done lawfully without Force, Fraud or Tumult. These were *Anatolius a Magister Militum*, *Valentinus a Præfatus Sacrorum*, *Tatianus* the Prefect of the City, *Vasconius* the Magister Sacrorum Officiorum, Count *Martialis*, *Generblus* the Comes Rerum Prætoriarum, *Florentius* the Præfatus Prætorio, Senator *Patricius*, *Patricius Nonius*, Protogerus the Prefect, the Prefect *Zoilus*, *Theodorus*, *Apollonius*, Romanus Præfatus Sacri Cubiculi, *Theodorus* Prefect of *Ilyricum*, *Constantinus* the Præfatus Prætorio, *Artaxerxes* the Præfatus Sacri Cubiculi, and *Eulogius* Prefect of *Ilyricum*.

3. On the eighth of *October* the Bishops met in the Church of *St. Euphemia* the Martyr, where being placed before the *Cellæ Altaris* (which place *Libertinus* calls the *Secretarium*, and thence the several Sessions therein held *Secretaria*) the Cap. 13. Emperour *Martianus* together with *Pulcheria* his Emperess came into the Synod. He told them he could ingeniously protest that he no sooner came to the Government, but his mind was fully bent to establish the true Religion in the purity and sincerity thereof. That this was the cause of their meeting at this time, from which he promised

A General Council held at *Chalcedon*.

The Persons who met there.

The design of their Meeting.

sed himself all good and just things reasonably to be expected, as from those who would add to the utmost of their duty for purging and clearing the truth of Christian Religion from those Mist and Errors which either the Avarice or Ambition of some light Persons had brought upon it. That they might with more Facility obtain this end he would impose this as a Law upon them that now should dare to dispute or argue concerning the Person of our Lord Jesus Christ contrary to the Faith of the three hundred Fathers laid down in the Nicene Synod. As for himself he assured them he came not thither for the Ostentation of his Power or Authority, but to confirm the Faith, and suppress all strife and dissention that might arise. Having spoken to this purpose the Fathers let about their Synodical Work. At the beginning the Legates of Leo Patriarch of Rome began much to take upon them, willing that *Dioscorus* the Alexandrian Patriarch might be put out of the Assembly, and said, Either let *Dioscorus* depart, or we will be gone. The Judges gravely reproved this their unreasonableness, telling them, If they would be Judges, they must not prosecute as Accusers; neither did they suffer *Dioscorus* to depart, but commanded him, as was fittest, to sit in the Place of the *Rei*, or accused Persons. Then did *Eusebius* of Dorylaeum step forth and accuse him of Injury done to himself as well as the Death of *Flavianus*, giving into the Synod the Petition he had put up to the Emperor, which being read, together with the Acts of the *Epheſine* Latrocinia, by all which *Dioscorus* appeared as well guilty of the Blasphemous opinion of *Eutyches* as of what *Eusebius* had laid to his charge. The Synod therefore condemned him, with his principal Assitants: *Juvenalis* Bishop of Jerusalem, *Thalassius* of Caesarea, *Eusebius* of Ancyra, *Eustathius* of Berytus, and *Basilus* of Seleucia. To the condemnation of *Dioscorus*, who had been the Ring-leader, the Eastern Bishops most willingly assented, but interceded for such as had been by threats drawn to join with him, that their deposition might be suspended. The Synod commands, that the several Bishops should severally and apart make Confessions of their Faith, according to the preſcript of the Nicene Synod, and the writings of *Basil*, *Gregory*, *Hilary*, *Athanasius*, *Ambrose*, and the two Epistles of *Cyril* published in the Council of *Epheſus*. The Action was furnished with Acclamations of the *Trifagion* to Almighty God, Well-wishes to the Emperor, and Curses against *Dioscorus*.

Dioscorus Bishop of Alexandria and his Adherents condemned.

Acclamations used at the end of General Councils.

What they were.

4. This Custom of Acclamations in Council at the end of the several Sessions or Conclusion of the Synod seems taken from the practice of the Senate and People, in which Assemblies after the Debate and Consultation ended, extraordinary Acclamations were wont to be made to the Honour of the Emperours. For though the word doth signify a vocal assent given by any one to what is said by another, yet there were Acclamations extraordinary and solemn made upon certain Occasions, a Cryer or Officer dictating to the Multitude. So *Trebellius Pollio* tells us in the Life of the Emperor *Claudius*, that after the reading of his Letters in the Temple of *Apollo*, it being said, *Claudius Augustus, The Gods keep thee*, the Assembly acclaimed it sixty times. *Claudius Augustus We have ever wish'd for thee*, or *such an one as thou art to be our Prince*; this was reiterated forty times. *Claudius Augustus the Commonwealth sought after thee*; this was repeated forty times. *Claudius Augustus thou hast been a good Brother, Father, Friend and Senator*; *thou art truly a Prince*; this was acclaimed eighty times. *Claudius Augustus avenge us of Aureolus*; five times. *Claudius Augustus avenge us of the Palmyrenians*, five times. *Claudius Augustus deliver us from Zenobia and Victoria*; seven times. *Claudius Augustus, Tetricus did nothing*; seven times. In like manner when *Tacitus* the Emperor by a Speech in Answer to the Senate, had excused himself by his Old Age from taking upon him the Government, the Senate made these Acclamations: *Trajan also came Old to the Imperial Dignity*; this *Flavius Vespasian* spoke ten times. *Adrian in like manner came Old to the Government*; *piſcus Syracuſis* in *Tacitus*, this they pronounced ten times. *In like manner did Antoninus*; ten times. *Thou also haſt read* (viz. *Virgil* *Æneid*, 6) *Incanque menta Regis Romani*; ten times. *And who Rules better than an Old Man*; ten times. *We make thee an Emperor, not a Soldier*; twenty times. *Do thou give orders, let the Soldiers fight*; thirty times. *Thou art prudent, and haſt a good Brother*; ten times. *Severus ſaid*, *The Head ought to Govern, and not the Feet*; thirty times. *And we make choice of thee for thy Mind, not thy Body*; to which they acclaimed twenty times. These forms of Acclamations being Recorded, Historians copied them out of the Rolls, and some Coins have been stamped with a Memorial of them, so much did Princes think they tended to their Fame and Reputation, as in a medal of the Emperor *Constantinus*, wherein is read, *Gaudium Populi Romani*, or *The Joy of the Roman People*; being words of Acclamations whereby the People testified their

Joy,

Joy, and within a laurel Crown, *ſic V. ſic X.* or *ſic Quinquies*, *ſic Sexies*, that so fix, or seven times the People acclaimed. *Trifan* mentions a medal of *Constantine* the Emperour with the same notes, which he interprets, *ſic Quinquennialia*, *ſic Decennialia*, and indeed *Antiquaries* took no notice of these Acclamations expressed upon Coins, till *Jacobus Chiffletius* began to observe them, as appears in his Book called *Anaſtaſis Childerici*.

The design of them.

5. No wonder then that in so Solemn and Holy Assemblies, wherein the Prayers of the Faithfull availed much, such Religious Acclamations should be made, expressing praise and glory to Almighty God, and prayers for the welfare of the Emperours; the nursing Fathers of his Church. It was the ancient Custom of the Eastern Churches to handle matters in Councils in a publick meeting of all, and upon occasion popular Acclamations did often happen, and sometimes tumultuous, which notwithstanding did conclude in concord, and in the end the Bishops transported with Joy, for the uniform Determinations, did pass to Acclamations, in praise of the Emperours, who had assembled and favoured the Council, in commendation of the Doctrine declared by it, in prayers to God for his continual aid and assistance afforded to his Church, for the welfare of the Emperours, and the health and prosperity of the Bishops, which were not premeditated, but as the Spirit did excite some Bishops more zealous to break out fitly into some of these Expressions, for the multitude acclaimed or cried with him. This was imitated of late in *Trent*, yet not giving place to the extemporary Spirit of any, but meditating what should be proposed and answered, and repeating it out of a Paper, the Cardinal of *Lorain* took upon him to be the *Præco* or Cryer, not only being chief in composing the Acclamations, but thundering them out also, which was generally accounted lightness and vanity, not beſeeming such a Prelate and Prince to do an Office belonging rather to the Deacons of the Council, than to so principal an Archbishop and Cardinal. But the Cardinal roared, and the Tridentine Fathers answered such things as will not edify the Reader to know, and if he please he may find them in the excellent History of that pretended General Council. Thus much by the way concerning Acclamations, once for all, and perhaps not unprofitably.

In the second Meeting *Dioscorus* is Re- sulted to Gangrena.

In the third the Bishops give an account of their Faith.

In the fourth Session the Bishops are required to subscribe the Epistle of Leo.

6. At the second Meeting, *Eusebius* Bishop of *Dorylaeum* renewed his complaint as well in behalf of *Flavianus* as himself, and after several things petitioned, desired that *Dioscorus* might be summoned to answer for himself, for this second time, he had not appeared. Three several times was he summoned by three Bishops and a Notary, but as often excused himself, and in the mean time came certain Priests and Deacons of his own Church, accusing him as well of Blasphemy as Robbing them of their Goods. Upon this occasion being summoned again, and refusing to appear, he was condemned as Contumacious, and deposed; the Legates of *Leo* by the consent of the Synod pronouncing the Sentence, wherein they attributed enough to his Authority that sent them. With these things the Emperor was made acquainted, and under his Authority the form of Deposition was sent to *Dioscorus* who was Banished to *Gangrena* a City of *Paphlagonia*, and his Sentence being written to the several Churches, was confirmed by Imperial Authority. On the thirteenth of October was the third Session held, wherein in most of what had formerly passed being repeated, the several Bishops were commanded to give an account of their Faith. *Florentius* Bishop of *Sardis* as wavering, desired respite, but *Cecropius* Bishop of *Sebastopolis* publicly declared his Faith to the Fathers, asserting that of the Nicene Council confirmed by the Fathers, and lately by *Leo* the Roman Patriarch. After this were read and approved the Nicene Creed; the Decree of the Synod of *Constantinople*, wherein the Heresie of *Eutyches* had been condemned, the Faith of the First *Epheſine* Council held against *Nestorius*, the two Epistles written by *Cyril* to *Nestorius* and *John* Patriarch of *Antioch*; with the Confession of the said *John* approved by *Cyril*, in which writings the middle and safe way betwixt the errors of *Nestorius* and *Eutyches* was pointed out. Next was read and approved the Epistle of *Leo* to *Flavianus*. Then whereas some Bishops doubted concerning some expressions in *Cyril's* Letters, by the advice of *Anatolius* certain Bishops who had already subscribed were appointed to explain and give satisfaction to such as staggered.

7. The Fourth Session was held on the seventeenth of October, wherein first it was demanded by the Secular Judges, Whether the Nicene Faith, and the Decree of the Synod of *Constantinople* were agreeable to the Epistle of *Leo*, to which an Answer being given in the affirmative, the Bishops were required to subscribe it, for therein being plainly and expressly condemned the Heresie of

Eutyches this was judged a more certain expedient to try the minds of the Fathers; forasmuch as such as are content to close with the more general expressions of a Council and wrest them to their own sense cannot so easily evade the drift of a particular Paper destined to the Condemnation of an Heterodox opinion. Then were admitted into the Synod, ten *Egyptian* Bishops, and the Confession of Faith which they had written to the Emperor was read, wherein they professed to imbrace the Doctrine of the Apostles, the *Nicene Creed*, with the Faith of *Athanasius*, *Theophilus* and *Cyril*. Condemning all Heresies, particularly those of *Arius*, *Eunomius*, the *Manichees*, *Nestorius* and such as affirmed the flesh of Christ to have come from Heaven, not to have been truly Born of the *Virgin Mary*, which was indeed the Doctrine of *Eutyches*. The Synod commanded them to subscribe the Epistle of *Leo*, but they refused it, denying that they represented all the *Egyptian* Bishops, wherefore they would not prescribe to them, nor could they do it legally having no Archbishop since the deposing of *Dioscorus*. The Synod had well nigh pronounced a rash sentence against the Bishops, crying out that they were Heretical. But the Judges knowing well that they forbore to subscribe because of a Custom they had that they might do nothing without their Patriarch not then chosen, and not as thinking Heretically in the Faith, moderated the Synod, telling the Fathers that to them it seemed reasonable and agreeable to good nature not to condemn them but stay till their Patriarch be chosen, to whose grave and sober sentence the Synod consented, making a Canon for this same purpose, and ordaining that in case they would give security not to depart out of the City, or that as soon as they had a Patriarch chosen, they would subscribe, they should be disappointed with as to present subscription. At the end of this Session several *Eutychian* Monks petitioned the Synod and made great stir about *Dioscorus*, their Patriarch, being Headed by *Barfamas* the principal *Archimandrite*. But the Fathers after much contention found reason still to Anathematize *Dioscorus* and cast out their Petition, giving the Monks three days time to consider and revoke their Heretical Tenets.

The *Eutychian* Monks Petition for *Dioscorus* rejected.

In the fifth Session a Confession of Faith composed.

8. In the fifth Session more contention happened about the Person of *Dioscorus* whom *Anatolius* if possible would have cleared as to the Crime of Heresy. The Emperor perceiving there was no end to be expected in those personal causes, and that the Bishops spent all there time therein, ordained that six Eastern Bishops, three of *Pontus*, three of *Asia*, three of *Thrace*, and as many of *Idrycium*, together with *Anatolius* and the Legates of *Leo* should consult together and lay down such a form of Faith as the rest should own and subscribe. A form of Faith they accordingly composed in writing, whereof the first part contained a censure of the Heresies of *Nestorius*, *Eutyches* and the *Macedonians*. To the Condemnation of their opinions was added a confession of Faith to this purpose: according to the example of the Holy Fathers, *We confess one and the same Son of God, Christ our Lord, and unanimously affirm him perfect in the Divinity, and perfect in Humanity: true God and true Man, having both a rational Soul and Body: Coessential with the Father according to Divinity, and Coessential to us according to Humanity, in all things like to us, sin excepted: begot of his Father before all Ages, as to his Divinity: in these last times for us and for our Salvation manifested, being born of the Virgin Mary the Mother of God according to Humanity, one and the same Jesus Christ the Son of God, the Lord and only begotten, in two Natures, without confusion, conversion, dissolution or separation: the difference of Natures being no wise taken away by unity, but rather the propriety of both Natures concurring to one Person, and one Subsistence being preserved, not that he is parted or divided into two Persons, but is one and the same only begotten Son, God the word, and our Lord Jesus Christ, and in old time the Prophets foretold, Christ himself hath taught us and the Fathers have delivered to us.* This being read, the whole Synod Acclaimed: *This is the Faith of all the Fathers, let the Metropolitans subscribe it, this is the Faith of the Apostles, let us all follow this: we are all of this Judgment.* Then did the Synod decree that what had so universally passed and pleased the Fathers should be reported to the Emperor *Martianus*. Notwithstanding this final Accord, in making the Definition of Faith, a great dissention there was in the Synod, some would have it one way, some another way set down, inasmuch that the Legates of *Leo* were ready to make a Schism, to depart from the Council and hold another Synod by themselves. The glorious Judges then (as they are filed) proposed this proper expedient to have the matter peaceably debated and concluded. But outcries and Tumults prevailing, the Judges complained of these disorders to the Emperor, and *Martianus* enjoined them to follow the direction

Suggestion of the Emperors Clamorous spirit.

rection of the Judges, wherein they obeyed him, and so at length came to a full conclusion and definition of Faith.

9. At their sixth meeting came *Martianus* with the Emperess into the Synod where he spoke to the Fathers first in *Latin* (according to the Custom of preferring the repute and grandeur of *Old Rome*, and then in *Greek* to the same purpose as formerly. After he had made an end, *Aetius* the Archdeacon of *Constantinople*, in the name of the Synod briefly recounted what had been hitherto done, and then read a writing which declared the Faith of the Fathers to be agreeable to that form we lately mentioned. The Emperor demanded if that was the Act and Judgment of the whole Synod, and upon answer that it was, and that they all believed accordingly, he published his Edict importing that whereas the Catholic Faith was now explained, and defined by the holy and universal Synod, according to what had been deliver'd by the Apostles and Fathers, he thought it necessary to cut off for the future all occasions of disputes in matters of Religion. Therefore he commanded and declared that no Person whatsoever whether Clerk, Souldier or others (called *Idiotæ*, *Plebeians* or *private Persons*) should move any question publicly concerning the Faith, under Pain of Banishment to a private Person, to Clerks and Military Men or of the Senatorial rank loss of their Degree and Dignity, with other penalties. This was applauded by several Acclamations of *Many years to the Emperor, Many years to the pious and Christian Augustus, Many years to the Orthodox Emperess*, and Anathema to *Dioscorus*, and the like. After this he told them there were certain things which he thought fit to propound to them as for their nature being proper for their Cognisance, which respecting Clerks and Religious Persons we shall mention when we come to speak of the third, fourth and fifth Canons of this Council. *Eugarius* writes that the Emperor now commanded the Bishops to continue there three or four days more, and prepare more matter such as they should think to be expedient. And they staid not only three or four days but many more, new matter still arising before them.

In the sixth Meeting it is confirmed by the Edicts of the Emperor.

In the seventh Session *Juvenalis* Bishop of *Jerusalem* hath Patriarchal power confirmed to that See.

10. In the seventh Session an Agreement betwixt *Maximus* Bishop of *Antioch* and *Juvenalis* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, was propounded to the Fathers and ratified. The Reader must know the Bishop of *Jerusalem* had long before this time the mere Name and Title of a Patriarch as both *Bellarmino* and *Binius* acknowledge, and though his See was but a single Bishoprick, Subject, as both *St. Jerome* and the *Nicene Council* declare, to the Bishop of *Antioch* as Patriarch, and to the Bishop of *Cæsarea Palestina* as Metropolitan, yet out of respect to our *Saviour* he had the name of a Patriarch, and place in Councils above the Bishop of *Cæsarea*. But the Authority and power of a Patriarch he had now by Decree and Judgment of this Council of *Chalcedon*. *Juvenalis* had moved about it in the *Epheſine Council*; but the Patriarch of *Antioch* as it seemeth, saith our Dr. *Cracken*, being unwilling, to manumit him, and as it were free him from his subjection, *Cyril* resisted it, and wrote to Pope *Leo* to do the like. But after long contention both parties being satisfied, the matter was in this Session brought to this Council before which *Maximus* and *Juvenalis* professed they were both willing that the Bishop of *Antioch* should hold the two Phœnicia's and Arabia, and the Bishop of *Jerusalem* the three Palestina's, and they both desired the Synod to decree, confirm and ratify their Agreement. The whole Council upon their Petition and ratified it, all the Bishops crying, *We all lay the same and consent thereto*. And after them the most glorious Judges in the Emperor's name added the imperial Authority and Royal assent to their Decree, saying, *This by our Decree and Judgment of the Council shall abide firm for ever, that the Church of Antioch have under it the two Phœnicia's with Arabia, and the Church of Jerusalem have under it the three Palestina's. Eugarius* witnesseth that this Agreement betwixt *Juvenalis* and *Maximus* after Consultation had both by the Judges and Bishops was confirmed. *Nic. Concilii lib. 15. c. 30.*

Lib. 2. c. ult.

Lib. de Pontif.

Rem. 1. l. 1. c. 24.

Ad Epist.

Anaclet. 3.

tom. 1. Conc. 3.

ad Conc. Nic.

c. 7.

Ep. ad Pam.

machium.

Conc. Nic. c. 7.

Of the fifth

Council, ch. 31.

Leonis Ep. 62.

Ant. 7. p. 105.

Lib. 3. c. ult.

versus Juven.

Nic. Concilii

lib. 15. c. 30.

Which is fairly
obscured &
gained by Ba-
ronius and
Binus.

11. That you may see the shameful dealing both of *Baronius* and *Binus* in another place (Reader they are *Crackanborp's* words) where their Choler against the fifth Council was not moved they acknowledge that truth, for intreating of the Council at *Chalcedon*, In this seventh Session, saith *Baronius*, and the like doth *Binus*, was the controversy composed betwixt the Bishops of Antioch and Jerusalem, and the cause being judged, the two Phœnicia's and Arabia, were given to the Bishop of Antioch, and the three Palestines were adjudged to the Bishop of Jerusalem, whence it doth evidently appear that the right of the Metropolis which before belonged to the Bishop of Cæsarea was translated to the Bishop of Jerusalem. So they, who yet in hatred against the Acts of the fifth Council (the reasons of their hatred shall be declared in due place) with Faces of Adamant deny that truth which here upon this occasion they confess to be clear and conspicuous. But the Cardinal objecteth that this Decree of *Chalcedon* was made *Post absentiam Legatorum*, when the Popes Legates were now gone, and so they being absent, is to be held invalid. O the forehead of the Cardinal! were the Pope's Legates absent? were they gone? Truly they were not onely present at this Decree and consenting to it, but after it was proposed by *Maximus* and *Juvenalis*, they were the very first that gave sentence therein, the Council following their sentence. For thus runs the story, *Paschasius* and *Lucentius* the most Reverend Bishops, and *Boniface* the Presbyter holding the place of the Apostolic See, said by *Paschasius*; Those things betwixt *Maximus* and *Juvenalis* are known to be done for their good and peace, & nostra humilitatis interloquutiones firmantur, and are confirmed by the Interloquution of our humilitas, at nulla in posterum in hac causa sit contentio, that never hereafter there should be any contention about this matter between these Churches. Is it credible that the Cardinal should be so audacious and impudent as to utter such palpable untruths? unless he had quite put off, I say not Modesty, but Reason, Sense, and almost Humane Nature.

12. *Baronius* following on his charge, in the second place objecteth that Pope Leo himself withstood this Decree of this Council of *Chalcedon*, because it was prejudicial to the Rights of other Churches, and by reason of his Averseness, it was not put in Execution as it was after the Decree of the fifth Synod. Dr. *Crackanborp* coming in here also to the relief of the Council, affirmeth that had the Cardinal and his Friends been well advised they would have been afraid and much ashamed once to mention the resistance of Pope *Leo*, to the Council of *Chalcedon*, either in these Patriarchs or the other of *Constantinople*: for first, the resistance of *Leo* which was merely ineffectual, demonstrates that the Popes contradiction, with all his might and power, can neither disannul nor infringe the Judgment of a general Council, which is no small prejudice to his principality or Princely Supremacy. Again it convinceth *Leo* of a very foul and inexcusable Errour, judging the *Nicene* Canons concerning matters of Order, Polity, and Government of the Church (such are these concerning the extent of Sees or Superiority of one Bishop above another) to be unalterable and Eternal, no less than the Decrees of Faith. The condition, saith he, of the *Nicene* Canons (pointing in the margin to the sixth and seventh both which concern the Limits of Sees) being ordained by the Spirit of God, is in no part soluble; and whatsoever is divers from their constitution, omni penitus authorize vacuum est, is utterly void of all Authority by whomsoever it be Decreed. Much more in this and the following Epistle he addeth to the same purpose. Particularly concerning *Juvenalis* who was truly at this time made a Patriarch, for keeping the Statutes of the Holy Fathers, which in the *Nicene* Synod are confirmed *inviolabilibus decretis* by Inviolable Decrees, I admonish your Holiness saith he, that the Laws of the Churches may continue, let no Man's Ambition cover what's another Man's, let no Man feel by impairing another to advance himself, for though they seek Assistance from Councils, *Infirmum atq; Irritum erit quicquid à prædictorum Patrum Canonibus discrepat*; whatsoever differs from these *Nicene* Canons shall be void. And to *Maximus* Bishop of Antioch; Let it suffice that I pronounce this in general, ad omnia, as to all matters, concerning Limits of Sees and the like, that, if any thing be attempted by any Man, in any Synod against the Statutes of the *Nicene* Canons, nihil præjudicii potest involabilibus inferre decretis, It can bring no prejudice to these unalterable and inviolable Decrees. Thus *Leo* erroneously judging the order prescribed in the *Nicene* Canons for the bounds and pre-eminence of Bishops to be Eternal, and not to be altered by any Council whatsoever.

13. Behold the wisdom of the Cardinal in alledging Pope *Leo*. If the Decree of *Chalcedon* was not of force because *Leo* contradicted it, then neither can that other Decree, supposed to be made in the fifth Council, be effectual, because *Leo* contradicted it also, seeing that by the Judgment of *Leo*, at no time, by no Person, by no Council, by no Authority can the order of *Nice* be changed. If this at *Chalcedon* was not in force, to which the Pope's Legates consented, how can the Cardinal think that of the fifth Council to be of force, to which neither Pope nor Legate consented, nor was so much as present in the Council? If the Judgment of *Leo* stand for good, then neither is, nor ever was either *Constantinople* or *Jerusalem* Patriarchal Sees; and then the Decree of the eighth Council and the Lateran, and I know not how many more must be rejected as unlawful and Impious. If the Judgment of *Leo* be as by their eighth Council and the Lateran it is adjudged) Erroneous, then was *Jerusalem* a Patriarchal See, notwithstanding the contradiction of *Leo* to that Decree. In a word, if *Leo* his Judgment be of force, it repeals the Decree of the fifth, eighth, and all other General Councils decreeing this; if it be not of force, it neither did nor could infringe the Decree of *Chalcedon*. But to satisfy the Cardinal yet a little more fully, it is an untruth which he saith, that the Decree of *Chalcedon* was not put in Execution, before the time of the fifth Synod and the supposed Decree thereof. For this Council of *Chalcedon* decreed that their sentence in advancing *Jerusalem* to a Patriarchal See, should stand in force in omni tempore, and therefore doubtless even then, and from that very time it was truly a Patriarchal See, the contradiction of *Leo* no more hindering it the very next or second year, than it did two Hundred or two Thousand years after that Decree made. Again, as it is certain that the See of *Constantinople* both before and after the Decree of *Chalcedon* (which was not introductive but confirmative in that point) exercised Patriarchal Authority, *Justinian* also by his Imperial Law made some twelve years before the fifth Council confirming the same; so it is not to be doubted but the Church of *Jerusalem* did the very like in it's own Patriarchal Diocese, especially considering that *Justinian's* Imperial Law is as forcible for the one as the other. So that for any one to have denied, or sought then to have infringed the Patriarchal Authority confirmed to *Constantinople*, conferred to *Jerusalem* by this Council of *Chalcedon*, had brought him into danger, not onely of the Ecclesiastical censure; but of civil punishment with the Emperours high indignation.

14. But if the Cardinal will not be satisfied, unless he see the practice of that Patriarchal Authority, let him look into the General Council under *Mennas*, and there he shall see *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, hold a Provincial Synod of the Bishops of the three Palestines, qui sub eo sunt, who were under him, two whereof as by their subscriptions appear, were the Metropolitan Bishops of *Cæsarea* and *Scythopolis*, with thirty more; so many were then subject to the Patriarch of *Jerusalem*. Again in another Provincial Synod held at *Jerusalem* in the tenth year of *Justinian*, *Peter* Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, was President over all the Bishops of the three Palestines there assembled with him, two of which were the aforeaid Metropolitans. So untrue it is, which *Baronius* to maintain the false Testimony of *Gul. Tyrus* avoucheth, that this Decree of *Chalcedon* was not put in Execution, before the fifth Council. Another untruth is, that which he pretends in his Fragments of the Fifth Council, that it had no other means to rect this Patriarchship of *Jerusalem*, but by taking part from both those of *Antioch* and *Alexandria*; for there was another means as both the Decree of *Chalcedon*, and the Event did shew, and nothing at all was taken from that of *Alexandria*. That is also as false as the rest, that the Fathers took from *Alexandria* the Metropolitan Sees and Provinces of *Ruba* and *Berithus*, for neither of these Sees belonged to the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, but of *Antioch*. Of them both *Berterius* (refuting this Fragment, at which the Cardinal and *Binus* to gladly snatch) saith, Certainly *Ruba* is placed by Ptolemy in Syria, and it's manifest that *Berithus* is the Metropolis of Phœnicie near Libanus: Syria autem & Phœnicia orientis Provincia omnibus nota sunt: Now that Syria and Phœnicia were Provinces of the East (and consequently belonging to the See of *Antioch*) all do know. For *Berithus* the matter is certain that it is not near the Limits of *Alexandria*; for that it is in the Province of Phœnicia, not onely Ptolemy shews, but the Subscriptions of the Bishops, both in the * *Nicene*, the first Constantinopolitan and *Chalcedon* Councils, in all which the Bishop of *Berithus* is set in the Province of Phœnicia; whence another untruth is to be observed in that Fragment of *Tyrus*, which saith that *Berithus* was granted to the new Patriarch of *Jerusalem*; whereas

whereas it is clear, that it was in *Phoenicia*, and that the two *Phenicians*, both by the Agreement of *Maximus* and *Juvenalis*, and by this Decree of this Council of *Chalcedon*, did belong to the See and Bishop of *Antioch*, and not of *Jerusalem*.

15. In the eighth Session *Theodore*, the Bishop of *Cyrrus* came to clear himself, and to be reconciled to the Church. Hitherto he had been received and admitted by the Synod no otherwise than as Plaintiff, accusing *Dioscorus*, for injuriously ousting him of his See, and placing another in it. For when he first came into the Council the Bishops of *Egypt*, *Illyricum* and *Palestine* exclaimed against him, crying *The Canons exclude this Man, out with him, thrust out the Master of Nestorius*, the Orthodox Council doth not receive *Theodore*, call him not a Bishop, he is no Bishop, he is a Fighter against God, he is a Jew, out with him; he accused, he anathematized *Cyrril*; If we admit him we reject *Cyrril*. The Canons exclude him, God detesteth him. Knowing him to have formerly embraced and defended the *Nestorian Heresie*, they would not be satisfied otherwise than by the appointment of the Judges, he should sit only as an Accuser of *Dioscorus*, not as one having Judicatory Power, or a decisive Voice, till his own cause should come to be heard and thoroughly examined. Now in this eighth Session when he appeared for this purpose, no sooner was he espied but the Bishops cried out again, *Let Theodore forthwith anathematize Nestorius, let him do it speedily and without delay*. He offered to them a Paper containing a Confession of his Faith, but they refused to hear it. Then began he at large to clear himself, telling them he came thither out of a sense he had, that he was calumniated as if he had taught *Heresie*, that as he had been bred and educated amongst the Orthodox, so he had ever taught, being averse to *Nestorius*, *Eutyches* and all others who held false and heterodox Opinions. But as he was proceeding, the Synod suspecting that he used these delays as unwilling to anathematize *Nestorius*, cried out, *He is an Heretic, He is a Nestorian, put out the Heretic*, and out they had put him, but that leaving all Circumstancie and delay, he presently cried out *Anathema to Nestorius, and to them that either do not confess Mary the Virgin to be the Mother of God, or divide the one only begotten Son into two*. He told them also, that he subscribed to the Definition of Faith, and the Epistle of *Leo* the most Holy Archbishop. With this the Synod was fully satisfied, the glorious Judges saying, *Now all doubt is quite removed concerning Theodore*, and receiving him into Communion as Orthodox restored him to his See, of which in the *Ephefine Latrocity* he had been ousted, all crying out, *Theodore is worthy of his See, let the Church receive their Orthodox Pastour, To Theodore a Catholick Doctour, let the Church be restored*.

16. In the Ninth Session was examined the Cause of *Ibas* Bishop of *Edessa*, who had also been deposed by *Dioscorus* and his *Ephefine* Junctio. He had formerly held the *Heretic* of *Nestorius*, and after the Union betwixt *Cyrril* and *John*, had written a Letter full fraught of *Heretic* and *Blasphemy*, to *Maris a Persian*. About this his *Heretic* a Synod was held at *Beritbus*, before *Photius*, *Eustathius* and *Uranus*, where the Epistle and Contents thereof were condemned. But being commanded to embrace the first *Ephefine Synod*, which that impious Epistle rejecteth, and to condemn and accuse *Nestorius* with his Followers commanded by that Epistle, he conformed himself to their order, professing that he believed as the Letters of *Cyrril* unto *John* did teach, and that he consented to all things done by the first *Ephefine Synod*, accounting their Judgment as inspired by the Holy Ghost. Moreover, at the Instance of *Photius* and *Eustathius* he published in Writing, what he now professed for full satisfaction of such as had been scandalized by his former Doctrine. And on his own accord he promised before these Judges, that he would in his own Church at *Edessa*, and that publicly accuse *Nestorius* as the Ringleader in that Impious *Heretic*, and those also who were of his Judgment, or who used his Books or Writings. The Acts of these matters being read in Council, *Eunomius* told the Fathers that seeing in *posterioribus* or in *postremis*, *Ibas* had made a right Confession, (though he did formerly write against *Cyrril* and the Faith) he judged him worthy of his Bishoprick, provided he accused *Nestorius*, *Eutyches* with their wicked *Hereses*, and consented to the Writings of *Leo*, and this General Council. Now the Orthodox Confession of *Ibas* made before *Photius* and *Eustathius*, the accusing of *Nestorius* and his *Heresie*, and the embracing of the *Ephefine* Council is that which *Eunomius* calleth *posteriora* or *postrema*, as following by many years, not only that which *Ibas* did or said before the Union made between *John* and *Cyrril*, but even that impious Epistle written

In the 8th. Theodore Bishop of Cyrrus anathematizing Nestorianism is restored.

In the Ninth Ibas Bishop of Edessa re-nouncing his Heresie,

At 1. p. 6.

At 2. Nihil reliquimus, anathematizamus Nestorianum.

Apud Ab. Cmc. Chalced. At 9. p. 108. A.

written after the Union. By this Confession being *posterioris*, or later, than the Epistle, *Ibas* had refused all for which he was formerly blamed, in effect refusing, condemning and accusing that whole Epistle with all the *Hereses* and *Blasphemies* in all parts thereof. For this Cause, and in regard of this Holy Confession, the fifth Council afterwards said, that thereby *Ibas* had anathematized his own *Ephefine*, being in every part of it contrary to the Faith, both in the beginning and the end.

17. That this was the meaning of *Eunomius*, the Interlocution of *Eusebius*, Bishop of *Angra*, in this same Council of *Chalcedon* doth make apparent, who expressly mentioning these Acts before *Photius* and *Eustathius*, and the Confession of *Ibas* then made (called by *Eunomius* *Posteriora*) said thus in the following Session, to which the Conclusion of this matter was adjourned: The reading of that Judgment before *Photius* and *Eustathius* doth shew, that *Ibas* in that Judgment accused *Nestorius* with his impious Doctrines, and consented to the true Faith. Wherefore I receive him for a Bishop, if he do now condemn *Nestorius*. This was applauded by *Diogenes* Bishop of *Cyricus*, *Thalassius* of *Cæsarea*, *John* of *Sebasteia*, to which all acclaimed, We all say the same. So clear it is, that upon this Confession of *Ibas* made first before *Photius* and *Eustathius*, and after that by this whole Council of *Chalcedon*, and not upon his Epistle nor any part first or last thereof, *Ibas* was acknowledged and received as a Catholic. Whereby appeareth not only the Error, but extreme fraud of *Baronius*, who in excuse of *Vigilius*, not only affirmeth an heretical Untruth, that the latter part of the Epistle is Orthodox, but labours to uphold that untruth by malicious perverting and falsifying, both the words and meaning of *Eunomius*, as if he had said or meant by the *Posteriora*, the latter end of that Epistle. This and more in Confirmation of the Cardinal about that Epistle, and in defence of the Fifth Council, and the Acts thereof the Reader may see in the Book of Dr. *Crakanthorp* formerly mentioned, and we shall have too much occasion again to speak of this Subject. As for *Nomus* who had been put into *Ibas's* place, the Synod referred to the Bishop of *Antioch* to take care of him. The most glorious Judges confirmed what the Synod had done, saying, that what the Holy Council had judged concerning the Reverend Bishop *Ibas*, should retain its own Strength. And so ended the Tenth Session.

18. At the Eleventh Meeting the Synod decreed all things, which had been done in the *Ephefine Latrocity* under *Dioscorus*, should be void and of no effect, the Ordination of *Maximus* Bishop of *Antioch* excepted, and they petitioned the Emperor, that such things as there had passed should not be taken for Authentic. At this Session also contended *Stephen* and *Bassianus*, about the Bishoprick of *Antioch*, both challenging it as his due, and recommitting each other. The Emperor upon the earnest Petition of *Bassianus*, commanded the Synod to examine the Cause. The Fathers were so much divided in their opinions, that they were forced to put it off till their next Meeting. Yet would they generally have given Sentence for *Bassianus*, saying that Equity and Right called for him to be Bishop of the place; but the glorious Judges considering more seriously, and seeing farther into the matter, thought that neither of them both could indeed be Bishop, and the whole Council directed by them altered their Opinion, and said, *This is a just sentence, this is the very Judgment of God*. It was therefore resolved that both of them should be removed from the See of *Ephefus*, yet so that they still retained the Episcopal Dignity, and to each should be paid out of that Church, the Annual stipend of 200 *Solidi* for their maintenance. Now a *Solidus* after the time of *Constantine*, as our Learned *Briewood* hath observed, was worth of our Money Eight Shillings Six-pence Halfpenny Farthing, and Six parts of a Farthing, till the time of *Valentinian*, who increased it to the Value of just ten Shillings. At the thirteenth Session was composed, the difference betwixt *Eunomius* Bishop of *Nicomedia* and *Anastasius* of *Nice*, by a Decree, that forasmuch as *Nicomedia* had ever been the Metropolis, and *Nice* had only obtained that Title by favour of Princes, the Metropolitan Rights should be, and continue in the See of *Nicomedia*, according to the Ancient Canons. The fourteenth Meeting was employed in the Cause of *Athanasius* Bishop of *Paros*, who being accused of sundry Crimes, had been summoned before a Provincial Synod called to *Antioch* by *Domnus* Bishop of that See, to whose Patriarchal Authority the Bishoprick of *Paros* was subject. Refusing to come though thrice cited to appear, he was deposed by that Synod, and *Sabinianus* put into his place. In this Session he complained of wrongfull Extradition, and petitioned the Council,

Is restored in the ninth by the Fathers.

In the eleventh the Ephefine Latrocity Orders are made void.

At the twelfth the Council twice Stephen and Bassianus decided.

At the thirteenth the difference betwixt Eunomius Bishop of Nicomedia, and Anastasius of Nice composed. In the fourteenth the Cause of Athanasius Bishop of Paros discussed.

In Greek Nihil reliquimus, anathematizamus Nestorianum.

De Amiq. Nominis Roman. c. 15.

Council, that his See might be restored to him, excusing himself that he appeared not at the Synod of *Antioch* according to summons, because *Domnus* the chief Judge therein was his Enemy, and thereupon he could not esteem him an equal and indifferent Judge, though he could not but acknowledge him his Patriarch. The Glorious Judges that the matters laid to the charge of *Athanagius*, should be examined in Synod by *Maximus* then Patriarch of *Antioch*; and in case he were found guilty of these Crimes, he should for ever stand debarred from his Bishoprick. But if either in that space of time they examined not the Merit of his Cause, or upon Examination found him innocent, he should then as unjustly deposed be restored to his See of *Paros*, and *Sabinianus* should remain his Substitute till *Maximus* could provide him of another Bishoprick. This Sentence of the secular Judges, the whole Council approved, crying out, *Nothing is more just, nothing is more equal, this is a just Sentence, you judge according to the Mind of God.*

19. At their fifteenth Meeting were twenty seven Canons made, of which we shall in short deliver the substance.

“The First confirms such as had been by the Fathers ordained in former Synods. The Second censures that Bishop that should ordain for Money, deposing him and nulling the Orders to him, on whom they are conferred. In the Third the Synod taking notice at the instance of the Emperor, how several in Orders hired Lands for Lucres sake, undertook secular employments, and through laziness neglected Divine Service, lettook themselves to secular Persons, and for profit became their Steward, and over-saw their business, decreed that thenceforth it should be unlawful for any Bishop, Clerk or Monk to hire any Possessions, or meddle with any secular Estates, excepted such as the Laws did not excuse from the Charge of Tutors or Curators, or the Bishop of the City should entrust with the Administration of Ecclesiastical Affairs, the oversight of Widows or Orphans, or such Performers that stood in need of the assistance of the Church in the fear of God. If any acted contrary to this Canon, he should be liable to Ecclesiastical Censures, by which the Gloss in the Decree tells us, that Excommunication and Suspension is understood. The Fourth Confesseth that such as chose true and purely a solitary Life are worthy of convenient honour. But certain Persons in the Habit of Monks, carelessly and presumptuously passing from City to City, and Monastery to Monastery, and thereby condemning themselves, it pleaseth the Synod that no Monasteries or Oratories be builded or made without the Knowledge of the Bishop of the City, as also that such as in Cities or Villages live in Monasteries ought to be subject to the Bishop, be quiet and continuing in these places where first they devoted themselves to God, be constant in Fasting and Prayer, not meddling either with Ecclesiastical or Secular Affairs, or forsaking their Monasteries, except thereto enjoined for urgent Reasons by the Bishop of the Diocese. Also that no Slave be taken in to be a Monk, without consent of his Lord. Such as act contrary to these things they excommunicate, that the Name of the Lord be not blasphemed, and resolve that the Bishop take care, and have inspection over the Monasteries.

20. “In their fifth Canon the Fathers Decree by reason of those Bishops and Clerks that passed from City to City, that the Canons made by the Holy Synod retain their ancient force and vigour; which former Synods, as we have seen before, ordained, that No Ecclesiastical Person without some lawful and weighty cause should forsake his Calling and Station in one place, to remove into another. The Sixth enjoins, that No Presbyter or Deacon be ordained absolutely or without a Title, nor out of a publick place, as a Church or a Monastery. Such as are ordained without Title, it pleaseth the Holy Synod that the Imposition of Hands upon them be void and null, to the reprehension of those who so ordain them. The Seventh Forbids Clerks or

Monks to turn Souldiers, or aspire to Secular Honours, Anathematizing such as having so done should not return to their former station. As to the latter Part concerning Honours, the Gloss tells us here is meant onely such places of Honour wherein Jurisdiction of Blood is exercised, or filthy lucre, or personal service is required; else it appears by other Laws that a Bishop or Clerk may enjoy Secular Dominion, so he exercise what belongs to Blood by his Deputy. The Eighth Canon declares, that “Clerks whether in Hospitals, Churches dedicated

Ab. Conc. G.

25. 91.

Assestis Pa-

triaris, 19. 1.

si quis Episcopus

Diff. 86. c. 26.

Permissit ad

sanctam Syn-

dum.

16. q. c. 12.

Qui vere G.

par. G. 16. q.

2. c. 10. Qui

dam Mon-

asterium.

16. q. c. 12.

Qui vere G.

par. G. 16. q.

2. c. 10. Qui

dam Mon-

asterium.

16. q. c. 12.

Qui vere G.

par. G. 16. q.

2. c. 10. Qui

dam Mon-

asterium.

16. q. c. 12.

Qui vere G.

par. G. 16. q.

2. c. 10. Qui

dam Mon-

asterium.

16. q. c. 12.

Qui vere G.

par. G. 16. q.

2. c. 10. Qui

dam Mon-

asterium.

16. q. c. 12.

Qui vere G.

par. G. 16. q.

2. c. 10. Qui

“to Martyrs, or Monasteries, are according to the tradition of the Holy Fathers under the Power of the Bishop of the City, from which they ought not pre-emptuously to withdraw themselves. Therefore such as shall rescind this sumptuously to be subject to their own Bishop; if Clerks, it subjects them to the punishments inflicted by the Canons, according to their quality; if Monks or Lay-persons, it deprives them of Communion. The Ninth decrees, that One Clerk having a quarrel against another, the matter shall be decided by their Bishop. If a Clerk have a Controversie with his own Bishop or another, it shall be judged by the Provincial Synod, or (as *Theodore Balsamon* expounds it) by the Metropolitan of the Province. But if any Bishop or Clerk have any Controversie with the Metropolitan, let him betake himself to the Primate of the Diocese, or to the See of the Royal City of Constantinople, and there be judged. That this is a true and genuine Canon *Nicolas* the first of that Name Bishop of *Rome* confesseth, Ep. i. but both he and the later *Romanists* miserably torment themselves in expounding it, as not knowing how to evade the stroke which it gives to their pretended Supremacy.

The ninth whereof giving appeals to Constantinople very much perplexeth the Romanists and the Romanists to expound for their turn.

21. They are forced so to expound the word Diocese, as meant of the whole world it self, as if any one meanly conversant in Church Antiquities knew not there were many Dioceses of old. And by the Primate they will mean none other than him of *Rome*, though the Sun be not clearer than this, that there were several other Primates besides him, and they so ridiculously expound this Canon, as commanding all Appeals to be made from the Metropolitans to the Pope in all places of the World, and permitting only the same to be done to the Patriarch of *Constantinople* by those who inhabited near to that City. Now can it be imagined that these Fathers should forbid Appeals from the Metropolitan to the Patriarch of the Diocese, whereas by a Decree of those of *Nice* Appeals lye to him? In no case but by the ambiguous titles given to Primates, these *Romanists* impose upon unwary Readers. For as we said formerly, there being fourteen Dioceses in the Church, over each of them one Bishop presided with Patriarchal power, under several Names and Titles, as sometimes of Patriarch, sometimes of Metropolitan, otherwhiles of Primate, Exarch or Prince; which last is given to *John* the Patriarch of *Antioch* in this very Council of *Chalcedon*. All (a) *Reus* ad Exarchum Ori-entis Diocesis vocatus est. (b) *Kaplan* Exarchus est Exarchus et dicitur. (c) *O* *Exarchus* est Exarchus et dicitur. (d) *O* *Exarchus* est Exarchus et dicitur. (e) *O* *Exarchus* est Exarchus et dicitur. (f) *O* *Exarchus* est Exarchus et dicitur. (g) *O* *Exarchus* est Exarchus et dicitur. (h) *O* *Exarchus* est Exarchus et dicitur. (i) *O* *Exarchus* est Exarchus et dicitur. (j) *O* *Exarchus* est Exarchus et dicitur. (k) *O* *Exarchus* est Exarchus et dicitur. (l) *O* *Exarchus* est Exarchus et dicitur. (m) *O* *Exarchus* est Exarchus et dicitur. (n) *O* *Exarchus* est Exarchus et dicitur. (o) *O* *Exarchus* est Exarchus et dicitur. (p) *O* *Exarchus* est Exarchus et dicitur. (q) *O* *Exarchus* est Exarchus et dicitur. (r) *O* *Exarchus* est Exarchus et dicitur. (s) *O* *Exarchus* est Exarchus et dicitur. (t) *O* *Exarchus* est Exarchus et dicitur. (u) *O* *Exarchus* est Exarchus et dicitur. (v) *O* *Exarchus* est Exarchus et dicitur. (w) *O* *Exarchus* est Exarchus et dicitur. (x) *O* *Exarchus* est Exarchus et dicitur. (y) *O* *Exarchus* est Exarchus et dicitur. (z) *O* *Exarchus* est Exarchus et dicitur.

22. The meaning therefore of these *Chalcedonian* Fathers was this, that seeing (as appears from a constitution of *Justinian de foro Clerici & Episcopi accusati*) de Episcopali the Council of *Nice* or some other had prescribed the form and method of Appeals to be, that first they should lye from the Bishop to the Metropolitan, from him to the Primate, the Prince, Exarch or Metropolitan of the Diocese, and to no others, a General Council only excepted; out of respect to the Dignity of the Imperial Seat they conferred this Honour on the Bishop of *Constantinople*, that it should be lawful for any Bishop in any Diocese whatsoever at his choice, if he thought he should not be indifferently heard, to appeal from the Metropolitan of the Province or the Provincial Synod, to the said Bishop instead of the Exarch or Primate of the Diocese. Another meaning of these Fathers seems to have been this: that whereas formerly it was unlawful to appeal from the Definitive Sentence of the Primate or Patriarch to the Tribunal of any other Patriarch or Bishop, to do Honour to this Imperial Seat, they gave leave to appeal to the Bishop thereof from any Sentence of Primates or Patriarchs, which the words themselves, *Let him repair to the Exarch of the Diocese, or the Seat or Bishop of the Royal City*, seem, though obscurely to hint, but practice and the Imperial Law formerly mentioned plainly declareth, wherein is enjoined that *If after appeal to Patriarchs or Metropolitans, or any other Bishop sentence be pronounced which displeaseth any party, if this party appeal, the appeal must lye to the See of Constantinople, wherein, as the Custom was, the matter is to be determined.* To the Patriarch of *Constantinople* therefore

fore from the sentence of any other Patriarch or Diocesan Primate Appeal was granted, and from him none, except to a General Council, to which, as the African Fathers, in their Letters to * *Caelestine*, affirm it lawful to appeal, so those of *Chalcedon* never intended to bar any one concerned of that liberty. And particularly as a Learned Protestant observeth, as from any Province, so also from that of the Roman Patriarch himself Appeal is allowed by this Holy and Oecumenical Council, to the Bishop of *Constantinople*, but on the contrary from him of *Constantinople* or a Primate of any other Diocese to the Roman Bishop the liberty of appeal is granted in no cause whatsoever.

10. 23. The Tenth Canon * prohibits " Clerks to pass from a Church in one City to one in another; or if a Clerk be translated to another, to have to do with the former upon pain of Deposition. How the *Gloss* endeavours to reconcile this Canon with later Laws and Practice is too long here to be shewn, and therefore the Reader may at his leisure consult it. The Eleventh * forbids a Clerk or Reader to minister in any strange place whatsoever without Letters commendatory from his own Bishop. In the Twelfth the Synod taking notice that certain Persons had procured Pragmaticks or Rescripts from Princes, for dividing one Province into two, so that two Metropolitans happened to be in one and the same Province, forbade any Bishop to attempt the like for the time to come, under pain of Deposition. This Canon the *Gloss* restraineth and limiteth, in case the multitude of People encreaseth in the Province. The Thirteenth, or rather the Eleventh, ordains, that " All Indigent Persons shall have *Epistola* or *Paschick* Letters, and not Commendatory. The Fourteenth forbids *Palmists* and *Readers* to take Wives of another Sect. If any hath already to do, the Synod commands, that Their Children Baptized by Heretics be presented to the Catholic Church, therein to communicate. If they be not yet Baptized, they are in no wise to be Baptized by Heretics, neither to be Married to any *Heretic*, *Jew* or *Pagan*, except such Person to whom they are Married engage to conform to the Orthodox Faith. The Fifteenth declares, that A Deacon's ought not to be ordained till forty years of Age, and then not without diligent examination. If being ordained he had served at all in this Ministry and married afterward, the Canon anathematizeth her, and him that married her. At this Age indeed a Woman might know whether she could bear the condition of *Calistate*, and consequently those great disorders would be prevented, which have been too common amongst Girls insinuated in this course of life. But so far as Chastity is the gift of God, and in the power of none perfect in either Sex, the humour of this Age is hereby discovered too much admiring and doting on forced Virginity. This the next or Sixteenth Canon farther enjoineth, which " Commands that no Virgin which had dedicated herself to God, or Monk, should marry, under pain of Excommunication; yet they decree that they be gently dealt with if the Bishop of the place think fit.
17. 24. " The seventeenth enacts that Bishops retain those Country Parish Churches whereof they are in Possession, especially if they have kept them without violence the space of thirty years. But if within this term of years there hath been or shall happen to arise any controversy about them, it shall be lawful for such as think themselves aggrieved to traverse their cause in a Provincial Synod. And if any think himself injured by his own Metropolitan, he may either betake himself to the Primate of the Diocese, or to the Sec of *Constantinople*, as was said before, viz. in the 9th. Canon. But if any City be altered by the Authority Imperial or shall be altered for the time to come, the order of Parish Churches shall be conformable as to Civil and Publick Orders.
18. The eighteenth forbids upon pain of Deposition all Associations and Conspiracies amongst Clerks or Monks against Bishops, made it seems in behalf of *Eutyches* and his Doctrine. The nineteenth commands the Bishops to hold Provincial Synods twice a year, according to Ancient Canons. The twentieth commands a Clerk ordained in one Church there to stay, and not betake himself to another, except out of Necessity when they lose their former places. If any Bishop hereafter receives any such Clerk belonging to another Bishop it pleaseth the Holy Synod that both the Clerk and the Receiver remain so long Excommunicated till the Man return to his former Church, agreeable

* Conc. Afric. Can. ult. vel 105.

† Crackanthorp. Defens. Ecclesie Angl. contra Spalar. c. 91.

* 21. q. 1. c. 2. Clericum in duarum Ecclesiarum civitatum eodem tempore confisrari non oportet.

* Ibid. 2. c. 4. der to Minister in any strange place whatsoever without Letters commendatory from his own Bishop.

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21. " agreeable to what the *Nicene* Fathers had formerly decreed in their 16 Canon. The one and twentieth requires that such as accuse Ecclesiastical Persons be not lightly admitted except they be Men of known repute. The twenty second forbids Clerks to rifle the goods of their deceased Bishop (which it seems was at this time practised and had been prohibited by former Canons) under pain of incurring Deposition. This Canon was long after reinforced by the *Laterane Council* (Cap. 4.) under *Innocent the second*. In the twenty third the Holy Synod taking notice that certain Monks without any order from their Bishop and sometimes by him Excommunicated, repair to the Royal City of *Constantinople*, where they disturb the Peace of the Church, and corrupt several Houses, or dainties that they first be admonished to depart the Town, if they refuse, to be forced out and compelled to return to their own places by the *Defensor*.
24. " The twenty fourth Canon commands that such Monasteries as had been so made by consent of the Bishops continue such and be not again changed to secular uses. By the twenty fifth notice being taken how certain Metropolitans neglected their Flocks, and deferred the Ordination of Bishops, it therefore ordains that Consecration of Bishops be made within three Months except there be absolute Necessity of protracting the time, under pain of heavy censure. As also that the whole Revenue of the vacant Church be collected and laid up by the Stewards thereof. In their twenty sixth the Fathers signify how they are informed that in certain Churches, Bishops manage the Revenues thereof without any Oeconomo or Steward, therefore they resolve that every Church having a Bishop have also its Steward, or *Dispensator*, one of its own Clerks who by the consent of the Bishop shall Administer the Income thereof that there may be witness how it is managed. Left waste made of its substance and the Priestly dignity be ill spoken off. The twenty seventh censureth such as commit Rapes and thereby get themselves Wives, as also such as assist them if Clerks with Deposition, if lay Persons, with the Anathema. Besides these 27 Canons are three more extant in the Tome of the Councils whereof the first confirms the former Decree of the *Ephesine Synod* about the Privileges of the Sec of *Constantinople*. For, following in all things, as the Canon runs, *The Decrees of the Holy Fathers and acknowledging that lately read, the 150 Bishops lovers of God, we also decree and ordain the same things concerning the Privileges of the most holy Church of Constantinople being New Rome. For on the throne of Ancient Rome, because that City was the seat of the Empire, the Fathers deservedly bestowed Privileges. And the 150 Bishops moved by the same consideration gave equal Privileges to the most holy Throne of New Rome, rightly judging that the City which was honoured with Empire and a Senate and enjoyed equal Privileges with the Ancient Lady Rome, ought to be extolled and magnified no less than she also in Ecclesiastick matters, being the next to her, and that the Metropolitans only of the Dioceses of Pontica Asiana and Thracia, as also, the Bishops of the said Dioceses amongst the Barbarians should be ordained by the foresaid Throne of the most holy Church of Constantinople, each Metropolitan of the said Dioceses together with the Bishops of the Province ordaining the Provincial Bishops, as it is delivered in the *Dionne Canons*. But as is said the Metropolitans of the forenamed Dioceses are to be ordained by the Archbishop of Constantinople convenient Elections being made according to Custom, and thereof Notice being given to him.*
26. By this Canon the first dignity and Precedence was confirmed to the Roman Patriarch as bestowed on it by the Ancient Fathers, not out of any consideration that his Church was founded by St. Peter or any other, but out of a secular respect to the Dominion and Sovereignty of that City, as Mistress or Sovereign of the Empire; the Policy of the Church corresponding as near as possible with that of the State. Now that *Constantinople* was put into the same Capacity with *Old Rome* as to Majesty, Sovereignty and Dominion, the Fathers found the same reason for conferring the same Privileges upon her, though much to the regret and stomach of *Leo* his Legates, who not being present when the thing passed, came into the Council the next meeting and protested against it. But this would not do, their alleging the *Nicene Canons* signified little, the Fathers having in their Memory what had passed between the Bishops of *Africa* and the former Roman Prelates. They urged that the subscriptions to this Canon were forced and wrested from the Bishop by plain constraint which was flatly denied by such as had subscribed. Then did the glorious Judges interpose and gave sentence that the chief Honour

Three Canons more.

The first concerning the privileges of the Sec of Constantinople.

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16. q. 1. c. 17. Synodum Marcellianam nihil balantes.

19. q. 3. c. 4. Diff. 75. c. 2. Synodum quidam Metropolitano.

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was to be given to the See of *Old Rome*, yet Primacy and the like Privileges to that of the *New*, which now as well as the other was ordained with the *Fastes* of the Empire, so that the Bishop thereof should have power to ordain Metropolitans in *Asiana*, *Pontica* and *Thrace*, leaving the Authority to the Metropolitan of each Province to consecrate Bishops. Yet would not the Legates be satisfied, but required that the Decree might be suspended till the Judgment of *Leo* might be had about it, to which it's said the Synod Assented. But *Liberatus* affirms that the contradiction and Protestation of the Legates was rejected, and how little account was made of it, or of the opposition of *Leo* himself appears by the practice of following times, as well as what formerly has been said of this Subject. As for this Canon none either have called in question the truth or the force and validity of it, except those concerned in behalf of *Rome*. Its found in all *Greek Copies*, besides several *Latin* ones, as one above a thousand years Old in *Jussellus* *Quod vidisse testatur Dr. Bessier*. us his Library, another in that of *Monsieur de Thou*, which abundantly discovers to us the truth and sincerity of those *Roman Copies* wherein it is wanting. "There are besides those 28 Canons two other mentioned, whereof the first forbids a Bishop to be reduced to the Decree of a Priest making it Sacrilege and requiring that if any Bishop be for just cause degraded, he lose also the Priestly Office. The last condemns what the Fathers resolved concerning the *Egyptian* Bishops who desired their subscription to the Epistle of *Leo* might be repelled till their Metropolitan was chosen.

27. All business being now dispatched, the Synod desired of the Emperour that he would confirm what they had done. He accordingly gave his Royal Assent which was followed by Acclamations often ingeminating *Thou hast confirmed the Orthodox Faith*. The Fathers also caused their Synodical Epistle full of respect to be written to *Leo the Roman Patriarch* wherein letting him know that they were assembled by the Sanction and Decree of the Emperour, they tell him what they had done and desire him to honour * them with his Approbation. For it was requisite for the Peace of the Church that such Bishops as could not be present in these Oecumenical Councils should approve and confirm what had been done therein. Not that there was any need of judicially determining and defining any controversy or giving the Decision full and perfect Authority, for that had been already done in the General Assembly wherein all Bishops were either personally present or implicitly and justly supposed to be there. But when they should give their express consent to what they had formerly ratified but implicitly, this would stop their mouth for the time to come, remove or prevent all objections arising from difference and opposition, and whereas we are apt to be drawn more by Example than precept, gain greater repute and conformity to the Decrees. Therefore did this Council seek the Approbation of *Leo*, who being most eminent for the dignity of his See, and very considerable for his personal Qualifications, might be more capable through his Example of doing good or hurt; after by consenting to procure Peace and Conformity, or by dissenting to make a rent and schism in the Church. On this same account did *Theodosius* the Emperour and *Cyril* labour so much to have *Johm* the Patriarch to consent to the Decrees of the *Ephesine Synod* against *Nestorius*, for they knew it would be a great means to draw in the rest of the dissenters, as indeed it proved. The truth was, all the Fathers could do was little enough to preserve the Church in quiet, and prevent that extravagance both in opinion and practice which the lusts and passions of Men so frequently procured. Therefore to revive the Memory of former Decrees did each Council, as it were, present a new Table of what had passed in such as had been before it. So did the Council of *Constantinople* confirm that of *Nice* with the Faith decreed therein, and this of *Chalcedon* all three preceding Oecumenical Synods, and the second *Nicene* Synod or Conventicle all the six which had been before it, although each of them was of as great Authority before, and as to their intrinsic value needed not the Confirmation of the subsequent especially of the latest *Sancto*.

28. Farther, the Ancient Christian prudence of these Fathers, for these very reasons, directed them to make use not only of General Councils but of Provincial Synods, not only of Patriarchs but particular Bishops to confirm their General Synods, and the Decrees thereof. Thus the great *Nicene Council* was confirmed, as they themselves phrase it, by *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia* and *Theognis* of *Nice* two exiled Bishops for the cause of Heresie in token of their repentance and conversion. So the Synod Assembled at *Milan* confirmed the Acts of the *First Ephesine Council*, as *Binius* himself observeth. And this very Council of *Chalcedon*

Chalcedon at the instance of Pope *Leo*, when some began to carp at its Decrees, was confirmed by an Edict of the Emperour *Leo*, who commanded also the several Bishops to declare their Judgments concerning its Doctrine, that the Council of *Chalcedon* might be again confirmed, faith *Binius*, by the Consent and Confession of all these Bishops. In obedience to his Command some did it of themselves, as *Anatolius*, *Lucianus*, *Sebastianus* and *Agapetus*, besides several others, some jointly as the Bishops of *Egypt* and *Europe* in their Synodal Epistles, which are joyed to the Acts of this Council. It is not to be imagined, that the Testimony of single Bishops could give any Authority to an Oecumenical Synod, nor yet Provincial Councils which consisted but of 19 Bishops as that of *Milan*, or but of seven as that of *Syria*, or six as that of *Messa*, five as that of *Syria Secunda*, or no more than four as that of *Ojreona*. But much advantage was gained by these Testimonies, and this may be added to what we have formerly mentioned out of *Dr. Crackanthorpe*, that every one hereby either approved himself to be Orthodox in Judgment, or upon refusal appeared to be heretical in Doctrine, and stood sufficiently convicted, so that such a Wolf could not do mischief in Sheep clothing, the Church having sufficient notice and warning of him. But thus as the forementioned Learned Person observeth, Confirmation of Synods by Bishops was twofold. The Confirmation of those present in Council is *Judicial*, the latter Confirmation by the Absent is *Pacific*. The former *Authoritative*, such as gives the whole Authority to any Decree, the latter whether by succeeding Councils, or absent Bishops is *Testificative* witnessing them to be Orthodox in that Decree. The former joyed to the Imperial Confirmation (which is necessary to the making of a Lawfull Council) is *Essential*, essentially making both the Council an approved Council, and all the Decrees thereof approved Synodal and Oecumenical Decrees: the latter is *Accidental* which graceth a Bishop, but little or nothing the Synod, and being denied doth neither disgrace the Council, nor impair the Dignity or Authority thereof, but extremely disgracing the party that denies it, pulls down upon him both the just Censures of the Church, and the Civil Punishments due to Heretics and Contumacious Persons.

29. So small reason is there for *Baronius* to infer, that because the Fathers desired the Assent of *Leo*, therefore they thought their Acts invalid without his Confirmation. But thus ended this famous *Chalcedonian Synod*, which our Learned *Crackanthorpe* tells us he never read or almost remembered, but with a kind of Amazement; he admired the rare Piety, Prudence, Integrity, Moderation and Gravity of those most Glorious Judges, who supplying the Emperour's place in his Absence were the Imperial Presidents in this Council. Had they or such been wanting at this time it may justly be feared, considering the eagerness and temerity, not to say the infolency of the Pope's Legates in this Synod, that this Council of *Chalcedon* had proved a worse *Lutecina*, than was that second of *Ephesus*. All being dispatched, the Fathers returned to their several Churches. *Dioscorus* was banished to *Gangra*, a City of *Paphlagonia* where he died. In memory of the Condemnation of the *Eutychian Heresie*, the *Greeks* ordained an Anniversary solemnity on the 16th. of July, as appears by their Menology. And *Marcianus* the Emperour to follow on the stroke, and add the secular Arm to the Spiritual sword, published an Edict directed to *Palladius* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, bearing date on the 26 of January, or the 6th. of February next following. For it is extant at large in the Acts of the Council, and part of it in *Justinian's Code*, being there falsely ascribed to *Valentinian* and *Marcian* together, and here falsely dated with the Consulship of *Patricius* and *Rhinieres*, whereas it appears by the *Fasti Consulares*, that in the second year of *Marcian*, *Heracianus* and *Asporatius*, bore the Consular Office. This Law, several expressions whereof are taken out of the Synodal Acts, forbids all Persons whatsoever to dispute of Christian Religion in Assemblies, seeking thereby occasion of tumult and perfidiousness. He adds a reason that this

An Edict condemning the Eutychian Heretic.

At. 3. Cod. de summa Trinitate l. 4. §. in Synod. si. Basilicorum. 1. Tit. 1. c. 2. Adde hunc legi vultum integrum, Cod. Theod. de his qui Religione contemnunt, lib. 16. Tit. 4.

(a) Qui Chalcedonem convenerunt per nostra precepta.

(b) Sed etiam Judei & Pagani ex impietate certamine prophantes veneranda mysteria.

prived

prived of the Military girdle; Others if Free should be banished from *Constantinople*, and otherwise punished, if Slaves chastized with the greatest Severities. Thus much of the Fourth Oecumenical Council, concerning the Integrity of the Acts whereof let the Reader Examine what Dr. *Crakanthorpe* applyeth to the frivolous objections of *Baronius*. This and the three former, as made in the purest Ages have been deservedly had in greatest esteem, and of strongest Authority by all sober Christians. The Pope of *Rome* at his promotion (as appears from what *Dusdedit*, the Cardinal notheth in his Collection of Canons) of old time swore, according to a former, exemplified by *Gratian* in a Title, professing to follow and preach what they held and decreed, and both with Heart and Mouth, to condemn what they condemned. This ancient Oath as our Divines observe, badly agreeth with the late *Bulla Læna*, wherein the *Roman Patriarch* forbids Appeals from himself to a General Council. So the *Roman Patriarch* forbids Appeals from himself to a General Council. So doth the Profession of *Zozimus*, formerly mentioned. But from that ancient Oath, a Learned Man inferreth that the *Roman Bishop* cannot justly plead that he is superior to these Councils, except he arrogate to himself Power over the four Gospels

Canones & Concil. pro legibus habeantur, vide c. de sacrosanctis Ecclesiis. l. 4. §. 1. 2. §. 1. Novell. 131. c. 2.

Dist. 16. c. 8. Ex diurno Libro Professo Romani Pontificis.

Schafftrius in Concil. Valentinian.

At. Conc. Chalced. 3.

Cod. lib. 1. Tit. 2. de Episcop. & Clericis. l. 23.

Lib. 2. c. 4. ex Privilegio. Liberianus in Brevis. lib. 5. c. 19.

flown e'er the Souldiers could lay hands on him, and though he was gone, yet the effects of heretical and cruel demeanour still continued, as in other places the same furious humour raged amongst the *Eutychian* Hereticks, where they could get advantage. This same year being the 454 of our Lord, *Valentinian* and

Martian, the Emperours published an Edict, whereby they decreed that the Privileges granted to all Churches by their Predecessors, should remain firm and inviolable. All pragmatick Sanctions, which through Favour or Ambition had been procured against the Ecclesiastical Canons, they command to be void, and of no effect. And because it concerned them in point of Humanity, to have a care of those that stand in need, and take order they want not maintenance, the Salaries which drivers ways had been formerly paid to the Churches out of the publick stock, they command still to be continued and discharged without any failing or defalcation whatsoever.

By this Edict it appears, that all Privileges granted by Emperours which were agreeable to the Sense of the Church, conducing to Order and Government, and not contrary to the Canons were so far from being nulled and removed, that they were strengthened and confirmed, onely those which had cloddetly and surreptitiously contrary to Ecclesiastical Decrees, been as were wrested from Imperial Powers. What reason then *Baronius* hath to conclude that this Rescript was purposely, and at the Request of *Leo* Bishop of *Rome* granted against *Anatolius* and the See of *Constantinople*, the Reader will easily apprehend, seeing that the Primacy and Jurisdiction thereof, was so far from being procured *Contra Ecclesiasticus Canones*, that it was founded upon the

Canons of two several Oecumenical Synods, neither ought the Cardinal to object the Decrees of the *Nicene Council*, except he will plead that the same Power that makes a Law cannot rescind it, or that the Church Universal supposed it to be in the Synods of *Constantinople* and *Chalcedon*, aswell as that of *Nice* cannot according to the Exigency of times, and Comportment of Affairs, bind and loose and change its own positive Laws in things indifferent. The Canons of *Nice*, whatever *Leo* or those of his party pretend, were of force to bind any particular Bishop or Patriarch whatsoever, but not a Council as General, as Lawfull, and consequently as Authoritative as it self.

32. But because there is nothing in this Edict which can possibly perfwade the Reader to be of the Cardinal's opinion, he tells him that this which we find now in the Code he conjectures to be but a parcel of that which the Emperours published this year, meaning indeed that though there be no mention of *Constantinople* in this, yet in the other Part there was, and *Justinian* seems to have left it out at the publishing of his Code, because he intended to make a new Law contrary to it, which is that of his thirteenth Novel, the second Chapter. From this must necessarily follow then that *Justinian*, contrary to former Canons, and consequently contrary to the four first Councils, and the practice before his own time, gave Prerogative and Precedence to the See of *Constantinople* after that of *Old Rome*; for if this fragment (as he would have it) which is left contradicted not that which is lost, then nothing was therein forbidden but what was contrary to the Ecclesiastical Canons; and *Justinian* again recalling what *Baronius* will have *Martian* to have disannulled, must have acted contrary to the said Canons, Councils and, as we may conclude, former practice. See therefore how bravely the forementioned Novel cited by the *Annalist* makes this out. In the first Chapter of that Novel the Emperour decrees, that *The Holy Ecclesiastical Canons have the force or nature of Laws, he means those which had been made or confirmed by the four Holy Councils, viz. that of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers assembled at *Nice*, the hundred and fifty at *Constantinople*, in the first Ephesine wherein *Nestorius* was condemned, and at *Chalcedon* where *Eutyches*, together with *Nestorius*, was anathematized. For the Doctrines of these four Synods we receive as the Holy Scriptures; and their Rules (or Canons) we observe as Laws: this is the first Chapter of the Novel. Then follows the second in these words: † Therefore according to their Definitions we decree, that the most Holy Pope of the Elder *Rome* be the first of all Priests; and the most Blessed Archbishop of *Constantinople*

* Sancimus igitur vicem legum obtinere Sanctas Ecclesiasticas Regulas que a sanctis & conciliis expressa sunt aut firmate, hoc est in Nicæna 318, & in Constantinopolitana Sanctorum 150 patrum, & in Ephesine prima in qua Nestorius est damnatus, & in Chalcedonensi in qua Eutyches cum Nestorio anathematizatus est. Prædictum enim a Synodorum dogmata sive Sanctas Scripturas accipimus, & Regulas sive leges observamus.

† Idemque sancimus secundum eorum definitiones sanctissimum senioris Romæ Patrem primum esse omnium sacerdotum, beatissimum autem Archiepiscopum Constantinopolitani

being

being

Another to the same purpose, but considering the Writings of *Eutychius* to be burnt.

Proterius elected in the Seat of *Diocorus*, upon which a Tumult arises at *Alexandria*.

Juvenalis Bishop of *Jerusalem*, deposed by the Monks, who set up *Theodosius*.

Who commits several Outrages there.

By the Emperour's Protection and Power *Juvenalis* is restored to his See.

30. The Imperial Edict of *Martianus* against the *Eutychian* Errors did so little good, that he was constrained to enforce it by another, bearing date on the 13th. of *March* following, wherein he subjects them to the same Pains and Penalties as formerly. Yet would not all this do, for such Tumults were made in *Egypt*, and the Eastern Parts, that he was forced afterwards in this same year to add greater Punishments, and command the Books and Writings of the *Eutychians* to be burnt. By a particular Rescript also, he as much as in him lay abolished the Memory of the Arch Heretic, and revived that of *Flavianus*, because honoured as he saith by such and so great a Testimony of almost innumerable Priests, in the Synod of *Chalcedon*. Into the Seat of *Diocorus*, banished by the Emperour's Command, was elected *Proterius* by the General consent of the Council, as *Evagrius* writes, about which great Tumults and Bloud-th happened at *Alexandria*, some of the People cloing with his promotion, and others being for the recalling of *Diocorus*. The Commander of *Thebais* placed his Guards to keep the Peace, but the Inhabitants set upon the Magistrates, and drove the Souldiers into the old Temple of *Serapis*, where they burnt them alive. The Report hereof coming to Court, the Emperour sent down to *Alexandria* three thousand disciplin'd Souldiers, who setting upon the Townsmen, and ravishing their Wives and Daughters, a more fierce and cruel Uproar happened than the former. At length *Florus* the Governour of the Garrison, gratifying the Multitude in the Restitution of the Corn he had taken from them, their Baths and solemn Shews for which they moved, quieted their Minds, and restored Peace for a certain time. But whilst matters thus were ordered at *Alexandria*, the Monks of *Palestine* inhabiting the Desarts near to *Jerusalem*, who had been at the Council and diffented from it, returning home and complaining of the form of Faith laid down by the Synod, by their stories exasperated those of their Profession, perfwading them that the Fathers who had made the Decrees were all *Nestorians*. *Juvenalis* the Bishop of *Jerusalem* they expelled, and in his room elected *Theodosius* the Captain of the Rout, a cunning and resolute Fellow, who had drawn *Eudoxia* the Empress Dowager to the Heretic of *Eutyches*, whilst he resided in that City. Having invaded the Chair, he took upon him to place new Bishops in the Sees of those who were not yet returned from the Council, and visiting the Cities of *Palestine*, as Metropolitan, compelled them to receive other Pastours addicted to his Heresie and Faction, using such with great Cruelty as resisted his proceedings.

31. *Severianus* Bishop of *Scythopolis*, for so doing he drove out of the City, and then procured him to be slain. *Athanasius* a Priest after various Tortures he caused to be beheaded, his Body to be dragged up and down the Streets of *Jerusalem*, and at last cast to the Dogs. Some he killed, others he plundered or burnt their Houses, so that *Jerusalem* represented a Town lately taken by an Enemy. When *Martianus* heard of these disorders, he commanded this Villain to be apprehended and brought to his presence, and sending down *Juvenalis* with a sufficient Power to redress the former Abuses, commanded him to depose as many as *Theodosius* had advanced to the Priestly Order. But the Bird was flown

being New Rome, have the Second Place after the Holy
 Apostolick See of Old Rome, & be placed before all other
 Sees. These words, therefore, according to their Definitive
 did, was not contrary to the four Emperour Justinian
 did, and founded upon their Decree, but agreeable
 being only contrary to them, the Primacy of Constantinople
 by that Part of the Edict. Then for the practice before
 Reader consider what we have formerly said of that subje
 lay to the see of Constantinople, from among the

33. In the latter Part of that Edict of *Valentinian* and *Martinian*, they take care that the *Accustomed Salaries be paid to Churches*, and that *no out of consideration that it became them as an Aid of Humanity* to provide for those in distress, and doe their endeavour that maintenance may not be wanting to the Poor. Seeing therefore that Churches were long before this time endowed not only with Titles, but with good Laws and Revenues; this Law seems especially to provide for the Inferiour sort of Clerks or Ministers in the Churches, such as the *Clerici copiato* formerly mentioned. That such provision had been formerly made by Christian Princes out of their Customs or Tributes throughout the Cities, which being taken away by *Julian* were restored by *Jovian* the Emperour, the History of those Times bear mention. So *Numa*, as *† Livy* tells us, assigned Pensions to the *Vestal Virgins* out of the public Revenues, and the Kings of *Aegypt* paid the third part of their Tributes to the maintenance of the *Priests*; as we have in the History of that Ancient Kingdom observed out of *† Diodorus*: *Plato* thinks fit and just that those who serve the Publick, should be maintained at the Publick charge. But thus much did *Martianus* the most Religious Emperour for preservation of the Doctrine of the Church in its purity, the discipline thereof in its true decorum and vigour, as also for the comfortable subsistence of the Ministers thereof. And all this was in Relation to the Church it self, in things Intrinsecal and Domestick. Here it is convenient also to take notice what he did for her relating ad extra, or respecting the old Pagan Superstition, of which we have not heard a long time. The very same year therefore that he assembled the Council at *Chalcedon*, for the rooting out of Heresie, he published an Edict for the utter destruction of Paganism, its Rites, Temples, Images and Sacrifices, commanding in the name of his Colleague and of himself, that *None should dare to open those Chapels which had now been long shut up*, but with an intention to pay there any *Worship or Adoration*. Let it be far from us in this Age (say they) to give the ancient Honour to infandous and execrable Images, to have the impious pilots of Temples trimmed with Garlands, profane *Vines* kindled on Altars, Incense to be burned thereon, Beasts to be killed for Sacrifice, *Vines* to be offered, and Sacrilege to be accounted Religion. But if any one contrary to this Sanction of our Serenity, and the Interdicts of most Holy and Ancient Constitutions do shall offer to Sacrifice, let such an one be legally indicted before the publick Judge, and if convicted, forfeit both his Estate and Life. Let such also as are Accessories or Ministers in Sacrificing undergo the same penalties, that being deterred by the severity of this our Law, they may forbear to Sacrifice for fear of punishment. And if the Rector of the Province after legal Accusation and Conviction forbear to punish a great Crime, let the Judge himself be fined *† fifty Pounds of Gold*, and as much more in his Office to the Exchequer. Given on the twelfth of November, *Martianus Augustus* and *Adelphius* being Consuls. Directed to *Palladius* the *Præfatus* *Præ-*

34. From the wording of this Law the Reader may observe, as to the state and condition of the times, that the Old Pagan Superstitions were not quite extinct, and else there had not needed any such Edict against the Superstitious Ceremonies thereof. Yet that it was at the last gap appears by the long time the Chapels had been shut up, expressed by the word *Olim*, and especially from the severe remedy provided by this Recept against the evil. For in this case there is some conformity betwixt the ordering of the Body Natural, and the Body Civil. In and active applications, such as search, and either kill or cure. But in dilempers of a state which have been long and general, which use and custom have rendered seemingly legal, aswell as habitual, the Physician must proceed

nopolos novae Romae secundum habere locum post sanctam Apostolicam senioris Romae sedem: alii autem omnibus sedibus praeparatur. Auth. Collat. IX. tit. XIV. Novel. CXXXI. p. 184. Cod Justin.

¶ §. 2. Et quia humanitatis nostrae est
egenis prospicere, ac de operam, ut pau-
peribus alimenta non desint: salaria etiam
quae sacrosanctis Ecclesiis in diversis specie-
bus de publico haftenus ministrata sunt, pro-
prie nunc quoque inconcessa & annua
summinura prelati: liberalitatem
promptissimam perpetuam erubimus fir-
mitatem.

* Theod. 4.4.
vici: quæ an-
notantur ad
hanc legem per
Interp.
† Lib. 1.
|| Lib. 2.

CHAP. VII. *The Constantinopolitan Roman Empire.*

in invertebrate Diseases which are founded in the Blood, and radicated in the complexion of the Parts, in the curing of which he must proceed *pedetentim*, and Purge gently, lest by evacuating the bad he drive out also the good humours, and practise rather an altering than a purging course, lest in a very foul and plethoric Body the humours being let afloat and driven into a fermentation, prove too headstrong and turbulent for nature to govern. This appears from what *Constantine* in the *Great* prescribed in this case, who at the beginning of the Reformation ordained the terror of death as a Medicine against this Sacrificing Evil, punishing in like manner the Governours of the Provinces which they neglected to apply this Caution to that Cancerous distemper. But his Successors who had time and opportunity to see the operation found it too violent and therefore laid it aside till by applying of more gentle and altering Medicines the whole body was able to bear it, and therefore now did *Marcian* renew (rather than make any new Law) when the ill humours were so diminished that by putting them into a motion and disturbance no dangerous fever or other Symptom could be feared. But neither did this suddenly effect the cure without some other Applications as we shall see hereafter. In the mean time from this Law, the Reader may observe what were the Ceremonies of Paganism and the Worship of Idols in their Temples, and Chapels.

35. About this time *Proper* a Priest of *Aquitain* in imitation of *Eusebius* composed his *Chronicon* wherein he briefly notes what passed from the beginning of the World to the eighth Consulship of *Valentinian* (which was the last year of his Life) and that of *Anthemius* or the 455th. year of the ordinary *Æra* of our Lord. The third Edition was *Bucherius* and *Miræus* observe reached to this year. For there had been two former whereof the first ended at the 14 Consulship of *Theodosius* which he bore with *Maximus* or the year 433, as appears from his summing up the *Epocha*'s of all the former years, which is not usually done but at the end of Books. The second Edition contained the space of 12 years more reaching as far as the 6 Consulship of *Valentinian* and that of *Nonius* or the year 445, at which his ordinary Chronicon wont to be joyned with those of *Eusebius* and *Jerome* receiveth its period. The third Edition reaching as low as the year above mentioned, of which *Miræus* mentions three several Manuscripts, is much better than the two former, containing besides a short and pithy account of things from the beginning of the World the *Fælii* of the Consuls from the 15th. year of *Tiberius* downward: But in this Age flourished three or four several Persons bearing the name of *Proper*, concerning whom *Bucherius* disputeth at large.

Several Edicts
of the Empe-
rours concer-
ning Testa-
ments.

name of *Prætor*, concerning
 36. *Titianus* died 455 before the Death of *Valentinian* did he and
 36. *Titianus* publish an Edict or a General Law as they call it whereby they refore
 Ecclesiastical Persons to their Ancient Liberty of having and enjoying what should
 be left by the Testaments of Women, which as we have formerly seen had been
 taken away by former Emperours. This Law directed to *Palladius* the *Præfector*
Prætorio, *Julianus* hath put into his Code, but that it was by two Authenticks immediately following
 us that at this day the Cate is confirmed by the two Authenticks immediately following
 which the Reader may consult at his leisure: The year following *Martianus*
 was not he did not publish he gave. (2) Liberty to the

*Placuit omnibus locis atque urbibus uni-
versis claudi protinus templa, &c. Dat.
Cal. Decembris. Constantio IV. & Con-
stante, A.A.Coff. viz. A. D. 342. Cod. Jus-
tin. lib. 1. tit. 11. l. 1.*

*In Chron. Belg.
ad Ann. 455.*

*Ad Victorii
canonem 6.
vide Miram.*

Generali lege
Sancimus sine
vidua, &c.
Cod. lib. 1. tit.
2. l. 13.

(a) *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 3. c. 25.*

Dat. 8. April. Varari & Jeannis Coff.

(b) Ἀνδράπρον καὶ ὄσιον τῷ λαομακάριστος, τῆς Αἰγυπτίου ὁσιότητι καὶ Σακχαρίας ὁ νομομακάριος γάρων. Lib. 1. tit. 3. l. 9. Vide tamen C. Sacris. 12. extra, de sepultura.

*Id quod pauperibus Testamento vel co-
dicillis relinquitur, non ut incertis per-
sonis relictum evanescat, sed omnibus
modis ratum firmumq; consistat. Cod. lib.
i. Tit. 3. l. 24.*

gacy may be laid to be certain as left to God himself: it may be done also by privilege; or the Testamentary Executor, or the Executor by Law, viz. the Bishop, may easily find out certain poor Persons on whom to confer the designed Legacy.

27. Thus went matters in the Eastern parts under the care and Inspection of *Martianus* the Emperor. In the Western and Southern there was no such ferocity, a dismal Cloud of persecution having overspread *Africa*, since the invasion of that Country by *Genesius* that *Arian* Captain. Most glorious were the confessions and sufferings of many Martyrs as well here as in other places, as *Italy*, *Sardinia*, *Greece*, *Epirus*, *Ilyricum* and *Spain*, or wherever the forced Rover touched. *Deogratius* the Bishop of *Carthage* removing in this direfull persecution to a place of more repose and security, after he had cleared that weather-beaten Church some three years, the Tyrant would suffer none to be chosen in his place, who ha'g driven the Priests and other Ministers of the Church several ways as they shiit, for themselves, commanded the Doors of the Church to be shut, and plainly forbade any Bishops to be ordained in other Provinces, so that when *Vidor* wrote the story the number of 164 was reduced to three. But this good came of so great an evil, that these Orthodox Confessours retiring farther into the Inland Countries there preached the Gospel, and though they became Martyrs many of them for so doing yet their Blood as in other cases proved the seed of the Church, many Barkarians who had never formerly heard of *Christ* being converted to the Faith and incouraged by the constancy of their Teachers. At such time as this mighty Tempest raged in *Africa* a storm was also raised in *Egypt* by another and contrary sort of Hereticks who, as *Genesius* denied the Divinity of *Christ*, would not acknowledge his Humanity. These were of the faction of *Diocorus* who, whose Deposition as they extremely grudge, so they fought all ways to be revenged on *Proterius* his Successor. At length they understood that *Martian* the Emperor was dead, through whose incouragement they had been condemned in a Synod by *Proterius*, they came down to *Alexandria* headed by one *Timotheus*, *Alarus* formerly a Monk, since that a Priest of *Alexandria*, whom they Create Bishop of that See though *Proterius* was yet living. But long they intended he should not be, for setting upon him in the Church being then in the Baptistry on the high Feast of *Easter*, and the day whereon the Supper of the Lord was to be solemnized, they there Cruelly murdered him, dragged his dead body through the Streets, tore it in peices, tasted of his Intrails, and burning at last what remained scattered the ashes in the Wind. The Villain *Timothy* to bring about these designs putting on black Clothes wandered up and down by night in the Cells of the Monks, and calling each of them by their names through an hollow Cane that his voice might not be discerned, told them he was one of the Ministering Spirits sent expressly to tell them all that they should not Communicate with *Proterius* but make *Timotheus Alarus* Bishop of *Alexandria*.

38. Being thus prosperously though wickedly seated in the Chair, out of fear of a Competitor, and lest he should receive the same measure he had given to others, he sought to prevent his own ruine by the destruction of those whom he had sufficient cause to believe incited against him. Therefore did he rage in *Alexandria*, and all *Egypt* with a cruel Persecution against the Orthodox of all Ages, Sexes and Conditions, banishing such Bishops as he could not otherwise Master. On the dead Emperor he railed exceedingly, reviled the *Chalcedonian Council*, and vilified the several Fathers assembled therein. The Orthodox Christians herewith acquainted the new Emperor. *Leo*, giving him a perfect account of what had passed. But those *Eutychian Hereticks* were as bule as they, writing Letters to the Emperor by Messengers of their own, wherein taking no notice at all of the Murder of *Proterius* they magnifie that peace and settlement which the Government of *Timotheus* had brought to the Church of *Alexandria*. And whereas the Emperor required that all Metropolitans should give him an account of their Faith, to see how they stood affected to the Council of *Chalcedon*, they gave him boldly an account both of their own belief and that of *Timotheus*, professing to receive the *Nicene Creed* and the *Ephesine Synods* (as well the second or Predatory as the first) but absolutely rejecting the *Chalcedonian*. *Leo* the Emperor not knowing how in this case to steer his course, by his Encyclical or Circular Letters consulted not only all the Bishops (whereof *Anatolius* especially) but other Persons eminent for learning or Godliness at this time. *Leo* the Roman Patriarch blasted their project of having another Council assembled, by shewing that there would be no end in gratifying Hereticks by those very things wherewith the universal Church had been once satisfied, and whereas they to much

De Persecut.
Vandal. lib. 1.
(St Proterius
de bello Van-
dal. lib. 1.)

Eugrinius lib.
2. c. 1.
Liberianus in
Breviar. c. 15.
Theodorus lac-
tor collectan.
l. 2.
Epp. vider. ill.
pro conc. Chal-
ced.

Vide epist. a.
pud Eugrinius
lib. 2. c. 8.

Leo Epp. 73.
Soc.

much talked of the Council of *Nice*, he proved that this Synod defining only the Controversies at that time, relating to the Divinity of *Christ*, when his Humanity was not once questioned, it was not sufficient to own his Creed, but the Profession of the Fathers of *Chalcedon* also, wherein matters relating to his humane Nature were determined. Not only *Leo*, but all the rest disallowed of the humane Nature of *Timothy*, as contrary to the *Canons* of the Church, and approved the Decrees of the Council of *Chalcedon*. Onely *Amphilochius* Bishop of *Sida* wrote an Epistle to the Emperor, wherein he inveighed against the Election of *Timothy*, yet approved not the Council of *Chalcedon*, which things (saith *Eugrinius*) *Lib. 2. c. 10.* were written by *Zachary Rheior*, together with the Epistle of *Amphilochius*. *Simoon* also (he meaneth *Simoon Stylita*, who at this time lived in a Pillar) a Man of worthy Memory wrote concerning the aforesaid Controversies, two Letters, one to *Leo* the Emperor, another to *Basilus* Bishop of *Antioch*, whereof that to *Basilus*, being but short, herciteth.

39. This year being the 457 of our Lord upon occasion of the Controversie about *Easter* two years before, *Victorius* or *Victorinus* of *Limofin* in *Aquitain* (both which at this time were held by the *Wisegeoths*) being then at *Rome*, as he himself witnesseth in the Preface, published his Paschal Canon, which *Bucherius* a Jesuit caused to be printed at *Plantin's* Printing-press in *Antwerp*, in the year 1633. This year died *Basilus* the lately mentioned Patriarch of *Antioch*, in his *Eugrinius lib. 2. c. 11.* second year, to whom succeeded *Acacius*: As also *Anatolius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, to whom he had governed that See almost Nine years, into whose place *Timotheus* after he had governed that See almost Nine years, into whose place *Timotheus* was promoted *Genadius* an eminent Priest of that Church, not the Ecclesiastical Writer, but a Man very Witty, Eloquent and Learned. The year following his Election was held at his City of *Constantinople*, a Synod of 73 Bishops summoned out of the neighbouring Provinces, wherein the Legates of *Alea* loit, present, the late *Chalcedonian Council* was confirmed. The Acts of it are all lost, one Canon made against *Simoniacal* Persons excepted. This same year died *Acacius* the newly ordained Bishop of *Antioch*, and was succeeded by *Mariyrinus*. And the next after when *Leo* the Emperor was now fully satisfied concerning the *Chalcedonian Synod*, and the Heresie aswell as other Villanies of *Timotheus Alarus*, he commanded him by a Rescript directed to the *Præfatus Agallistis* to be banished (several mention *Basilus Solifacianus* or *Albus*). At this time died *Simoon* called *Stylita* from his having lived in a Pillar about 80 years, who by *Theodoret* and others is celebrated as the wonder of the World, for his extraordinary Sanctity. To him succeeded in the like strictness of Monastic Life, *Daniel*, who not far from the Borders of *Constantinople*, ascended the Pillar. The year following was the last of *Leo* Bishop of *Rome*, who died on the Eleventh of *April*, a Man of unblameable Life, excellent Endowments of Mind and indelible Industry, not only for the Primacy of his See (wherein he shewed himself zealous far above reason) but the good of Christian Religion. Out of his Epistles the *Centuriators* of *Magesburg* have collected many Decrees, which the Reader if he please may consult, there being nothing in them so highly material as to bring them into our Infultion. His eminent Parts, and his great diligence have got him in later Ages, both the Name and Reputation of the Great.

40. After the Death of *Leo*, the See was vacant seven days, saith *Platina*, but rather for many Months as *Baronius* gathereth both from *Marianus Scotus*, and a Roman Council assembled under his Successor, till *November* following. This was *Hilarus* the Son of *Crispinus* a *Sardinian*, by Birth, whom when yet a Deacon, *Leo* sent one of his Legates to the Synod of *Ephesus*, being the 48th. Bishop of *Rome* according to *Platina*, the 45th. according to *Pawinius*, and as *Marianus* reckons the 46th. This Bishop is very much commended, for vigorously executing his Pastoral Office amidst all the great Troubles, wherewith *Italy* in his time was imbroiled. For repairing the Churches which the Barbarous *Huns* had defaced when they took the City. In his expenses he was rather profuse than sparing. He built some Monasteries, and added to certain Churches the Chapels which he called *Oratories*. He also as *Saballius* will have it collected the Pontifical Decrees into one Body, and dispersed them in to all Countreys. To him certain Epistles are attributed, wherein he confirms the three General Synods of *Nice*, *Ephesus* and *Chalcedon*, condemns the Heresies of *Nestorius*, *Eutyches* and all others, and according to the Customs of his Predecessours

Basilus Pa-
triarch of
Antioch died,
Acacius suc-
ceeded.
Anatolius
Patriarch of
Constantinople
died, to whom
Genadius suc-
ceeded.
A Synod held
there.

Acacius of
Antioch died,
Mariyrinus
succeeded him.
Timotheus Al-
arus banished
and Timothy
Solifacianus
is made Bi-
shop of Alex-
andria.

Leo Bishop of
Rome died.

Hilarus suc-
ceeded him.

Consulte Suri-
um in place &
Baronius ad
hunc Ann.

A Persecution
in the West.

And first at
Alexandria
by the Faction
of Diocorus.

Proterius Bi-
shop thereof
murdered by
Timotheus Al-
arus who suc-
ceeds on the See.

Who holds a Synod at Rome.

Dies.

Proper Bishop of Rhegenfis dies, Maximus succeeds him.

To Hilarius succeeds Simplicius.

Several Edicts of the Emperor concerning the Lord's Day, and Holy-days.

decessours lately taken up, asserts the Primacy of his own See. In his fifth year he held a Synod in the Church of St. Mary, about some questions propounded to him out of Spain, concerning the Ordination of Clerks, and against Bishops their designing of their Successours. To the Decrees next after him subscribed *Maximus* Bishop of *Turin*, not that he was next in Dignity, there being some Metropolitans also present, but the Custom generally was, that the Fathers took place according to their Seniority, not in Age, but Consecration, yet so as the Principal Patriarchs were excepted. *Hilarus* (for so he is to be read, and not *Hilarius*) died on the tenth of September, when he had governed the *Roma* five years and ten Months all but two days. Much about the same time died *Proper*, having been Bishop of the *Rhegenfis*, *Reienfis* or *Retenfis* in *Provincia Narbonensis Secunda* about 24 years, to whom succeeded *Maximus* Abbot of the Monastery of *Lerinum*. The same year also departed this Life *Erif* Papiensis or *Rhegenfis* Bishop of *Pavia* in *Insurbia*, into whose place was elected *Epiphanius*, one equal to him in Sanctity, and his Superior in Learning, in the Judgment of *Universalis Baronius*. To *Hilarus* the Roman Patriarch succeeded *Simplicius* the Son of *Caj*-*Diof*-*tinus* a Citizen of *Tibur*.

Tom. 2. Conc.

Presenti lege decernimus, &c. Cod. lib. 1. Tit. 12. l. 6.

Lib. 1. Tit. 3. l. 31.

Cod. l. 3. Tit. 12. l. 5. A. D. 321.

Cod. Theod. lib. 5. Tit. 8. A. D. 384.

Cod. l. 3. Tit. 12. l. 7. A. D. 389.

Cod. Theod. lib. 15. Tit. 5. A. D. 425.

41. In the last year of *Hilarus* Bishop of *Rome*, and the tenth of his own Reign, A. D. 466 did *Leo* the Emperor publish a large Edict, concerning the Privileges of Churches, granting them such as had been taken away by former Emperours, and constituting them Asylums or Sanctuaries as formerly, to all out of the *Constantinople*, Slaves excepted, and giving Rules to the *Oeconomi* of the said Churches, how they should order those that fled to them, in reference to the satisfaction of their Creditours. Three years after, in the Consulship of *Martianus* and *Zeno*, he published another Edict concerning the Election of Bishops, making therein what Provision he could against Simoniack Intursion. This same year on the 13th of December, he published another Law enjoying the observance of Holy-days in general, but especially of the Lord's Day, to which he doth very much enlarge himself, in the particulars he forbids to be practised on it. The Emperor *Constantine*, as we have formerly observed in its due place, had commanded all Judicial proceedings and Servile works to cease on this day, tilling of the ground excepted, by reason of the uncertainty of weather. Afterwards *Gratian*, *Valentinian* and *Theodosius*, prohibited all publick Shewes upon this day, and added to what *Constantine* had commanded concerning Judges, that none should arbitrate any litigious Cause, or take Cognizance of any pecuniary matters on this day. Five years after this, *Valentinian*, *Theodosius* and *Arcadius* publishing a Law concerning Holy-days, and reckoning up the Calends of *January*, the Birth-days of the greatest Cities, viz. the *Old* and *New Rome*, seven Days before and as many after *Easter*, *Christmas*-day, that of the *Epiphany*, the days of the Martyrdom of the Apostles, and their own Birth-days with the days of their coming to the Empire, reckon amongst them *Sundays*, or rather, as their Ancestours rightly called them the Lord's Days, wherein they forbid Arbitrations to be practised. *Theodosius Junior* five and thirty years after, as the *Carthaginian* Fathers had desired, ordained by a nother Edict, that as well upon the Lord's Day as on *Christmas*-day, the *Epiphany* *Easter*-day, and from thence to *Whitsuntide*, the Theatres and Circuses should every where be shut up, that the Minds of Christians might be wholly intent on the Service of God.

42. So stood the Lord's Day in reference to Imperial Laws, till this Edict of *Leo*, wherein confirming what had been done as to Holy-days in general, he commands all Judiciary proceedings to be stop on this day, wherein he will have Adversaries meet without fear. Neither forbidding business doth he give way, as he saith, thereby to observe pleasures, prohibiting the Theatre and Cirque to be opened, and the Spectacula of wild Beasts. Nay if a Solemnity happen upon his Birth-day, or of his Promotion it must be deferred. If any should be present at the Spectacula on this day, or any Apparitor Act contrary to what he had ordained either upon account of publick or private business, he punisheth him with loss of his Employment, and Proscription of his Patrimony. Besides these Laws respecting Religion made by this Emperor *Leo*, there are several others without date, which the Reader if he please may find in the Code of *Justinian* de Lib. 1. r. 22.3. *Sacrofanctis Ecclesiis, & de Episcopis & Clericis*, concerning Churches, Ecclesiastical Persons and their Professions, which to relate would be too tedious for our present

Ne hujus tamen Religiosi dies otia relaxarent, offensus quoniam patrum consuetudinis desinere. Nihil eodem die sibi videntes. Scena theatralis, aut Circense carmen, aut ferarum lachrymosa spectacula, & vide quid nosse iure, ad hanc legem que est ult. Tit. 12. Lib. 3. Cod. Justin. de feriis.

Lib. 1. r. 22.3.

The Acts of Basiliscus the Tyrant made void.

And precedence given to Constantinopolis.

present design, and make not so much for our purpose. Only one we cannot but mention, and that is a Constitution, whereby the extravagances committed during the Tyranny of *Basiliscus* were rescinded, and those things recalled which had been in use before his flight into *Isauria* for fear of the said Tyrant. For this *Basiliscus* ruling, as we have formerly written, matters in the East according to his will and pleasure, rejected the Council of *Chalcedon*, and what *Leo* the Bishop had written in defence thereof by his circular Letter written to all Bishops, which *Eugenius* and *Nicephorus* call *anathema*. From *Acacius* the Patriarch of *Constantinople* the Successour of *Gennadius*, who opposed his doings, he took several Provinces, formerly subject to him, and had almost driven him from his See, as he had dealt with many Bishops, as of *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, *Ephesus*, *Tarsus* and others. Therefore by this Edict doth he antiquate and make null, as we said, all things done under the Tyranny against the God of the Orthodox Religion, against Churches, particularly those under the government of the most Blessed and Religious Patriarch his Father *Acacius*, all Innovations in the Rights of Creation, expulsion of Bishops, their Prerogative in Councils and out of Councils of Place, or as Metropolitans or Patriarchs. As for the *Sacrofanct* Church of that most Religious City (these are the Phrases of the Edict) both his Mother and of all Christians of the Orthodox Religion, with the most Holy See of that Royal City be adjudged and decreeth in contemplation of the said Royal City that it enjoy for ever all Privileges and Honours as well in Creation of Bishops, as sitting above others; and all other Rights which it was known to have either before or under his Reign.

43. This Constitution is dated on the 17th of December, in the Consulship of *Armatius* alone, who bore that Office with *Basiliscus* the Tyrant, who yet is not mentioned here, nor named in the *Facts*, because he was an Usurper, and was condemned by *Zeno*. This Consulship fell in the 476 Year of our Lord, and consequently the third after the Death of *Leo* the Elder, so that it must belong to his Grand-Son the Young *Leo*, and made by his Father *Zeno*, though *Baronius* place it at the 472, and the 16th of the Old Emperor. However, it being made (as the Cardinal saith) in behalf of the See of *Constantinople*, and the precedence of all others next after the Patriarch of *Rome*, it is manifest that by the antiquating of Innovations, and restoring the ancient Rights of this Church, it had and enjoyed this precedence before the making of this Law. If it was procured through the solicitation of *Acacius*, and that *Simplicius* the Roman Bishop was much concerned about it, be it so, if it was *Acacius* his due, as it verily seems to have been, he had more right to seek it than the other to grudge it. But this is certain as well from this Law as others, that this Privilege was granted in consideration of the Royal, and if that was the Reason why the See of Old *Rome* obtained the First Dignity, as we have seen it was from good testimony, certainly there was no reason they should quarrel. But such are the humours and passions of Men otherwise good: and as here we leave them, so we shall find them again engaged in this quarrel about the Primacy. About this time was *Sidonius Apollinarius*, that Man so famous for his nobility and excellent wit, made Bishop of the *Arverni* or *Auvergnais* in *Gallia Celtica*. He had Married *Papianilla* the Daughter of *Avitus* the Emperor, and she was still living. Though in mighty esteem, yet he thought so meanly of himself, that in his Epistles he often complains of his unworthiness for such a Calling, and betook himself from his wonted Festivity to a more sober Conversation. Much about the same time also died *Gennadius* Bishop of the *Rhemenses* or *Soissons*, to whom succeeded *Remigius*, afterward called the Apostle of the *Franks*; neither this *Gennadius*, nor he of *Constantinople* was he whose Book is extant concerning Ecclesiastical Writers, and was of *Marcellus* in *Provence*. As the Death of *Leo* the Elder wrought a great change in the State, so also in the Church, by reason that *Zeno* his Son-in-Law too much favoured if not the Doctrine, yet the Persons of Heretics.

Sidonius Apollinarius Bishop of Arverni in Gallia Celtica.

Gennadius Bishop of Rheims died, Remigius succeeds. Zeno the Emperor recalls Fulvo a heretic, expelling Marcellus Bishop of Antioch place him in the See.

And also Timotheus driven into Alexandria expelling Timotheus Solisfacius the Orthodox Bishop.

44. He recalled *Fulvo* an Apollinarian and Eutychian Heretic, who had been Banished by *Leo*, and expelling *Martynius*, who was formerly driven away by the said *Fulvo*, and again restored, placed him in the See of *Antioch*, *Timothy Alurus* also that villanous Usurper, and Banished in like manner by *Leo*, he sent back to the Church of *Alexandria*, whence he expelled *Timotheus Solisfacius* the Orthodox Bishop, and committed many outrages against such as had owned

Sidonius in voce Basiliscus & vide que narratur per Interp. ad hanc legem que est ult. tit. 2. libri. 1. de Sacrofanct. Ecclesiis.

Decernimus ut antiquitas ac infirmitas fignificans his que contra ipsum orthodoxos Religiosus Dum quodammodo facta sunt.

Sacrofanctam quoque hujus Religiosissimam civitatem Ecclesiam & matrem nostrae pietatis & Christianorum orbis & Religiosis omnium & ipsius Regie nostrae sanctissimum sedem, &c.

ed and received him. At this time the condition of the Churches in *Gall* was very sad, the Arian *Goths* making havock of all things. And not only there, but in the *West*, generally things both Ecclesiastical and Civil had a very bad face, the Barbarous Nations overturning all, and filling all places with their Cruelties and Heresies. These disasters put an end to the *Roman* Empire in the *West*, *Augustulus* being deposed by *Odoacer*, and confined to a Castle near to *Naples*. The Church, blessed be God, had not just the like measure; but Church and State are so nearly allied, and so much sympathize, that if the one languish, the other can scarcely be in an healthy condition. As the same causes produce the same effects in both, so aswell the remedies are alike, as such preservatives as keep both in life and vigour. Therefore did Ancient and Primitive prudence as Twins cloth them with the like forms and fashions of Government, which daily experience applauds as most agreeable. And because such is their Alliance and agreement we shall limit and terminate our observations of both with the same Periods, those matters last mentioned falling out the year preceding the deposing of *Augustulus*.

Augustulus and the Emperors in the *West* overthrown by *Odoacer*.

F I N I S.

THE
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